
PUBLICATIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL
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I

A GRAMMAR
OF THE
DIALECT OF LORTON
(CUMBERLAND)

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE
WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENT
DIALECT SPECIMENS AND A GLOSSARY

BY

BÖRJE BRILIOTH

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PREFACE

THE aim of the following treatise is to outline, as accurately as possible, the phonology and grammar of the dialect spoken in and around the village of Lorton in West Cumberland, and also, as far as the phonology is concerned, to illustrate the development of the Old English sounds in the dialect. In choosing the Cumberland dialect as my object of investigation I acted on the advice of Professor Joseph Wright, of the University of Oxford, to whom I am also indebted for many valuable hints during the course of my work. Professor Wright expressed the opinion that in Cumberland, if anywhere, I might hope to find a distinct and well-preserved dialect idiom, and the experience gained during my stay in West Cumberland fully corroborated his statement. I found that the dialect spoken by the true natives of the Lorton district had preserved a striking originality of forms, and that it had been impaired only to a very slight extent by the destructive force of outside influence. The situation of Lorton, in the deep valley of Lorton which is bounded on both sides by high mountain ranges, mostly inhabited by natives of the district, and having very little intercourse with the outside world, has served also to preserve the dialect of the place pure and intact. The nearest town is Cockermouth (about four miles distant), but here also the Cumbrian element seems to be distinctly predominant.

It is a well-known fact to every one who has been engaged in dialect studies of any kind that the task of bringing together a *genuine* and *perfectly reliable* dialect material is a most difficult and troublesome one. In order to achieve this task in a satisfactory way, the following points have to be taken into consideration :

(a) Where to find a suitable base of operations, that is to say, a place where the general conditions of life, the situation, and also, if possible, the geographical configuration of the district, have exercised a preserving influence on the dialect and reduced

outside influence to a minimum. In this respect the village of Lorton is, as I have pointed out above, thoroughly well adapted for the purposes of the dialectologist.

(b) The question of finding good and trustworthy helpers, i. e. persons born in the district, who have been accustomed to hearing and speaking the dialect from their childhood, and who still regularly use the local idiom in their daily conversation with friends, neighbours, and members of their own family. In this respect I was very fortunate. On my arrival at Lorton, I fell in with a person who was in every respect thoroughly well adapted for my purposes, and whose kind and untiring assistance has enabled me to get well acquainted with the dialect and to collect in a comparatively short time what I believe to be a fairly rich and reliable dialect material. This person, who became my chief helper throughout my stay in Cumberland, was Mr. George Oglethorpe, the schoolmaster of Lorton. Mr. Oglethorpe is a true Cumbrian, of an old Cumberland family; he was born in 1866 at Dearham, in West Cumberland (the dialect of Dearham hardly differs at all from that of Lorton), has lived in Lorton for twenty-three years, and speaks the local dialect perfectly. George Oglethorpe has during all his life been in constant intercourse with the natives of West Cumberland, and has thus acquired a thorough and intimate knowledge of the dialect. My material was in the first instance supplied by Mr. Oglethorpe, and afterwards carefully controlled and revised during frequent interviews with numerous other helpers, all natives of the district, who began to show a great interest in my work as soon as I had been able to gain their confidence and to explain what I wanted to know, and why I was interested in their dialect. Thanks to Mr. Oglethorpe's great popularity, I had almost daily opportunities of meeting and conversing with 'fellsiders', shepherds and farmers living in and around the village, many of whom had hardly ever been out of their native valley, except perhaps for occasional but rare visits to the nearest towns, Cockermouth and Keswick.

Another difficult but important point always to be kept in view by the dialectologist is the following one:

(c) How to make your helpers talk pure dialect without con-

sciously or unconsciously mixing their conversation up with forms and words derived from standard English.

This difficulty was in my case reduced to a minimum on account of the originality and the clearly defined lines of the Cumbrian idiom : the whole character of the dialect serves to constitute it as a language of its own, quite distinct from standard English, both as regards phonology and vocabulary, and the natives are, in a way, distinctly bilingual, that is to say, if a true Cumbrian speaks his own dialect, he prides himself on talking it quite pure and unmixed, 'i tōks rīəl kumərīan', but, on the other hand, if he 'tōks prūud', i.e. standard English, you will frequently catch him using words derived from his native idiom instead of those belonging to polite English.

The above-mentioned methodological points will perhaps prove of some interest to the reader, and at the same time serve as a guarantee for the general accuracy of my collections. I may also mention that the results of my investigations have been submitted to Mr. S. Dickson-Brown, Hon. Secretary of the Philological Society, who is a Cumbrian by birth, and an expert on the dialect. After having read my manuscript, Mr. Dickson-Brown kindly pronounced the opinion that my analysis of the Lorton dialect seemed to be in every respect accurate and reliable.

Before proceeding to show the results of my researches, I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me during the course of my work in Cumberland. In the first place to Mr. George Oglethorpe for his kind and untiring helpfulness, and to the members of his family for the great kindness shown to me throughout my stay in Lorton.

It also gives me great pleasure to express, in this place, my deep-felt gratitude to the following persons : to Mr. K. F. Sundén, Docent in the University of Upsala, for kindly helping me in revising the historical part of my work ; to Professor Joseph Wright, of the University of Oxford ; Dr. W. A. Craigie, President of the Philological Society ; Dr. E. W. Prevost ; Mr. S. Dickson-Brown ; and Professor Erik Björkman, of the Upsala University, for much valuable assistance accorded me during the course of my work.

BÖRJE BRILIOTH.

UPSALA, 1913.

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(On dialect texts consulted see below, Dialect Specimens.)



GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The dialect dealt with in the present work is spoken in *Lorton*, a village situated in West Cumberland, $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the west coast on a straight line drawn from *Workington* to *Keswick*.

According to Ellis's classification (*E. E. Pron.*, vol. v) the Lorton dialect district belongs to the *West-Northern* division, D. 31. It does not exactly coincide with any of the varieties given by Ellis but falls between Varieties 19 (*Clifton*) and 18 (*Keswick*). The dialect forms of Var. 19 (*Clifton*) are very nearly identical with those of the Lorton dialect, whereas the *Keswick* variety (18) differs on some minor points.

The Lorton dialect district includes the following parishes : *Lorton*, *Brackenthwaite*, *Buttermere*, *Embleton*, *Mosser*, and *Eaglesfield* ; the same dialect is also spoken in and around *Cockermouth* (between three and four miles west of Lorton) although, of course, in the town itself the dialect shows a slight admixture of non-Cumbrian elements.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

PRONUNCIATION

A. THE VOWELS

§ 2. The Lorton dialect contains the following vowel-sounds :

Short vowels : **a**, **e**, **ə**, **i**, **o**, **u**, **ù**, **ʊ**.

Long vowels : **ā**, **ē**, **ī**, **ō**, **ū**.

Diphthongs : **ai**, **au**, **ei**, **eī**, **iá** (**ja**), **īə**, **iŭ** (**jʊ**), **iu**, **oi**, **ou**, **ʊu**, **wō**.

Triphthongs : **aiə**, **au(w)ə**, **eʊu**, **iuə**, **iʊu**, **ʊu(w)ə**.

Short Vowels

§ 3. **a** (mid-back-wide), like the *a* in German *kann*, *Mann*, but with the tongue slightly advanced towards the *æ*-position (in standard English *man*).

apl apple, **dlad** glad, **swan** swan, **want** want.

§ 4. **e** (low-front-narrow), the short of **ē** (**ē** = *è* in French *père*; cf. below, § 12).

bed bed, **eb** ebb, **netl** nettle, **beliz** bellows.

§ 5. **i** (high-front-wide), like the *i* in standard English *spit*, but slightly lowered.

bit bit, **fig** fig, **kis** kiss, **wiš** wish.

§ 6. **o** (low-back-wide-round), like the *o* in standard English *stop*, *pot*.

bodi body, **olin-buš** holly-bush, **lopstər** lobster.

§ 7. **u** (high-back-wide-round), like the *u* in standard English *bull*, *put*.

bul bull, **butər** butter, **tub** tub, **wud** wood.

§ 8. **ù**, very much similar to the preceding vowel (**u**), but pronounced with the tongue slightly lowered towards the mid-back position and a slight widening of the lip-opening (unrounding). It is a sound midway between the high-back-wide-round *u* of standard English and the **ʊ** (see § 9).

krùts crutch, **mùri** merry, **nùt** nut, **stùtər** to stutter, **tùts** to touch.

§ 9. *u* is still more lowered and unrounded than *ù* (see § 8 above), like the *ü* in Swedish *skutta*, *butter*.

burn to burn, *furniš* to furnish, *kürk* church.

§ 10. *ə* (mid-mixed-narrow), like the *ə* in German *Knabe*. Note that the *ə* in the standard English *er*-ending (in *letter*, *mother*) is mid-mixed-wide.

amər hammer, *betər* better, *marə* marrow, *narə* narrow.

Long Vowels

§ 11. *ā* is the long of *a* (see § 3), consequently mid-back-wide like the *ā* in German *Name*, but with a slightly advanced position of the tongue.

*bār*n child, *fāqin* farthing, *wār*m warm, *wār*n to warn, *wāt* wart.

§ 12. *æ* is the long of *e* (low-front-narrow; see § 4 above), like the *è* in French *père*.

bækn bacon, *dæ* day, *læ*k to play, *tlæ* clay, *wæ* way, *wædžiz* wages.

§ 13. *ī* (high-front-narrow), like the *ī* in German *Biene*, Swedish *fin*.

*blī*d to bleed, *fī*d to feed, *nī*d need, *nīt* night, *sīt* sight.

§ 14. *ō* is nearly like the low-back-narrow-round *ō* in standard English *fall*, *law*, but slightly unrounded.

*kō*f calf, *kō*ld (or *kō*d) cold, *fō* to fall, *sō*v salve, *wō* wall.

§ 15. *ū* is the long of *u* (see § 9 above).

*bū*d bird, *mū*dər murder, *pū*d third, *pū*ti thirty.

The Diphthongs

§ 16. *ai* (*a* + *i*, cf. above, §§ 3, 5).

*aid*l idle, *bait* to bite, *kain*d kind, *mail*d mild, *main*d mind, *wail*d wild, *wait* white.

§ 17. *au* (*a* + *u*, cf. §§ 3, 7). The first element of this diphthong is at times somewhat lowered and slightly rounded, thus forming a sound midway between *a* and *o*.

baustər bolster, *baut* (pret. and pp.) bought, *braut* (pret. and pp.) brought, *dautər* daughter, *dlau* to glow, *faut* (pret. and pp.) fought, *kraul* to crawl.

§ 18. *ei* (*e* + *i*, cf. §§ 4, 5).

eit eight, *feit* to fight, *wei* to weigh, *weit* weight.

§ 19. *eī* (*e* + *ī*, §§ 4, 13).

beīm beam, *beīn* bean, *dreīm* dream, *greīt* great, *leīf* leaf, *pleīz* to please.

NOTE. When initial, the *e*-element of this diphthong is weakened into a slight *e*-glide or disappears altogether: (*e*)*īl* to heal, (*e*)*īt* to eat, (*e*)*īzi* easy.

§ 20. *iá* (*ja*) (*i* + *a*, §§ 5, 3). The first element of this diphthong is slightly lowered (towards the *e*-position) after the liquids *l*, *r*. When initial, the *i* assumes a consonantic character (*iá* > *ja*).

bián bone, *biáp* both, *bliád* blade, *griáv* to dig, *giávlik* crowbar, *jak* oak, *jam* home, *jal* ale, *jans* once, *kiák* cake, *liám* lame, *mián* mane.

§ 21. *iā* (*ī* + *ə*, §§ 13, 10). The quantity of the *i*-element in this diphthong varies between medium and full length.

fīāš fierce, *sīā* so, *slīā* sloe, *tīā* toe, *tlīā* claw.

§ 22. *ių* (*jų*) (*i* + *ų*, §§ 5, 9). The same remarks apply to the first element of this diphthong as to the *i* of the *iā*-diphthong above (§ 20); the quality of the second element varies between *ų* and *ù* (§§ 9, 8) according to the nature of the following sound: it is rounded (towards *ù*) before *m* or *b*, otherwise always = *ų*.

briųm broom, *giųs* goose, *jųbm* oven, *jųf* hoof, *riųt* root.

§ 23. *iu* (*i* + *u*, see §§ 5, 7). This diphthong sometimes assumes a triphthongal character: a kind of glide (*y*) arises between the *i*- and *u*-elements, especially when the diphthong is not followed by a consonant (see below, the triphthong *iųu*, § 32).

biųti beauty, *friųt* fruit, *siųt* suit, *tiųzdə* Tuesday (*spiųu*, see § 32).

Note that the second element of this diphthong generally is half length.

§ 24. *oi* (*o* + *i*, §§ 6, 5).

boil to boil, *džoint* joint, *oil* oil, *vois* voice.

§ 25. *ou*. The first element of this diphthong is an open and somewhat unrounded *o* (§ 6) nearly like the low-back-wide *a* in French *pas*, *pâte*; the second element is *u* (§ 7).

bould bold, *fould* to fold, *gould* gold, *toul* toll.

§ 26. *ųu* (*ų* + *u*, §§ 9, 7).

bryun brown, *dųt* doubt, *sųund* sound, *tlųud* cloud, *ųund* hound, *wųu* wool.

§ 27. *wō*. I have classified the *wō*-combination as a diphthong

on account of the semivocalic character of its first element: it is a somewhat relaxed *w*, bordering on a very tense *u*. The second element is an *o*, varying between short and half length (sometimes even full length; cf. examples).

kwōm comb, *kwol* coal, *kworn* corn, *mwōrnin* morning, *rwoz* rose, *šwōt* short, *wol* hole.

The Triphthongs

§ 28. *aiə* (*a + i + ə*, §§ 3, 5, 10). The third element of this triphthong is *ə*, developed as a glide before a following *r*.

aiəŋ iron, *faier* fire, *spaiər* spire, *waiər* wire.

§ 29. *au(w)ə* (*a + u + ə*, §§ 3, 7, 10). A bilabial glide is often heard between the second and third elements of this triphthong.

au(w)ər over, *stau(w)ən* pp. stolen, *fau(w)ər* four.

§ 30. *eʊu* (*e + ʊ + u*, §§ 4, 9, 7).

deʊu dew, *feʊu* few, *teʊu* to toil, to work hard.

§ 31. *iuə* (*i + u + ə*, §§ 5, 7, 10).

griuəl gruel, *kriuəl* cruel, *siuər* sure, *siuət* suet.

§ 32. *iʊu* (*i + ʊ + u*, §§ 5, 9, 7).

biʊu bough, *driʊu* pret. drew, *sliʊu* pret. slew, *spiʊu* to spew.

§ 33. *ʊu(w)ə* (*ʊ + u + ə*, §§ 9, 7, 10). A bilabial glide (*w*) is often heard between the second and third elements of the triphthong (cf. *au(w)ə* above, § 29).

dlʊu(w)ər to glower, *flʊu(w)ər* flower, flour, *mʊu(w)ər* moor.

B. THE CONSONANTS

§ 34. The Lorton dialect contains the following consonants: *b*, *d*, *ɖ*, *ɗ*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *ʃ*, *t*, *ʈ*, *ʂ*, *v*, *w*, *z*, *ʒ*.¹

§ 35. *b* (lip-stop-voice), like standard English *b*. It occurs in all positions (initially, medially, and finally).

bārŋ child, *brek* to break, *kabiš* cabbage, *stubi* thickset, *neb* beak, *web* web.

§ 36. *d* (gum-stop-voice), like standard English *d*. It occurs in all positions.

dæ day, *dip* to dip, *drin̩k* to drink, *duv* dove, *didl* to con-

¹ In addition to the above-mentioned consonants the aspirate *h* frequently occurs in our dialect in initial position, but OE. and ME. *h* has been dropped everywhere, and 'Cumbrians know nothing of *h* as a reliable quantity' (see Dickson-Brown in Prevost's *Glossary*, p. xxv, and below, § 372).

fuse, **sindər** cinder, **wandər** to wander, **lid** lid, **bid** to invite, to bid.

§ 37. **ɖ** is a sound midway between **d** and **ʒ**, a kind of softened (relaxed) interdental stop (see below, § 317). It occurs in a medial position after a preceding short vowel before an **r**-suffix.

aɖər adder, **bleɖər** bladder, **faɖər** father, **laɖər** lather, **muɖər** mother.

§ 38. **ɖ** is a superdental voiced stop like the *rd*-combination in Swedish *borde*, *värde*, *svärd*, arising from the combination **r** + **d** after a vowel (usually a long vowel) or finally in unaccented syllables (cf. below, **ŋ** and **t**).

būɖin (or **būrdin**) burden, **mūɖər** murder, **wāɖə** week-day, **bakwəɖz** backwards, **forəɖ** forward.

§ 39. **f** (lip-teeth-open-breath) occurs in all positions.

faɖər father, **feit** to fight, **druft** drought, **fift** fifth, **kōf** calf, **laif** life, **liáf** loaf.

§ 40. **g** (back-stop-voice), like standard English *g*; occurs in all positions.

galəsiz braces, **gārŋ** yarn, **geɖər** to gather, **giáp** to gape, **bogl** ghost, boggle, **agər** coal-hewer, **sugər** sugar, **ag** to hack or hew, **big** barley, **lig** to lie (or lay) down, **ug** to carry.

§ 41. **j** (front-open-voice), like the *j* in standard English *yarn*, Swedish and German *ja*. It only occurs in initial position.

jārŋ a tale, story, **jaɓl** able, **jaɖər** acre, **jistəɖə** yesterday, **jūbm** oven.

§ 42. **k** (back-stop-breath), like standard English *k*. It occurs initially, medially, and finally.

kaf chaff, **kist** chest, **kʏrk** church, **kredl** cradle, **skil** skill, **skiɥl** school, **bek** brook, **ask** lizard or newt, **mak** to make, **tak** to take, **paɖ** to thatch.

§ 43. **l** (gum-side-voice), like standard English *l*. As a consonant it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only finally after a consonant in unaccented syllables.

liát late, **liɥk** look, **lonin** lane, **flit** to flit, to remove, **tlip** to clip, **olə** hollow, **talə** tallow, **fiɥl** fool, **skiɥl** school, **tiɥl** tool, **sadl** saddle, **midl** middle.

§ 44. **m** (lip-nasal-voice), like standard English *m*. When consonantic it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only finally after consonants.

man man, **māər** more, **muɖər** mother, **amər** hammer, **brumstn**

brimstone, **brum** brim, **rʏum** room, **stem** stem, **ārm** arm, **bodm** bottom, **elm** elm.

§ 45. **n** (gum-nasal-voice), like standard English *n*. As a consonant it occurs in all positions; when vocalic only in unaccented syllables after a consonant.

nāpəŋ apron, **nevi** nephew, **niʏk** nook, **dwinl** to dwindle, **mundə** Monday, **uni** honey, **dən** den, **əbiʏn** above, **miʏn** moon, **frozn** pp. frozen, **gitn** pp. got, **tšwozn** pp. chosen.

§ 46. **ŋ** is a superdental voiced nasal like the *rn*-combination in Swedish *barn*, *gärna*, arisen from an *r*+*a* following *n* after a long vowel or finally in unaccented syllables (cf. above, **ɖ**, § 38).

fʏŋitər furniture, **nāpəŋ** apron.

§ 47. **ŋ** (back-nasal-voice), like standard English *ng* in *bring*; it occurs in accented syllables in medial and final position.

fŋər finger, **siŋl** single, **uŋər** hunger, **suŋk** pp. sunk, **baŋ** to bang, beat, **straŋ** strong, **ʃraŋ** busy.

§ 48. **p** (lip-stop-breath, like standard English *p*); it occurs in all positions.

pepər pepper, **put** to put, **pwol** pole, **spiád** spade, **spiʏn** spoon, **elp** to help, **jap** ape, **stop** to stop.

§ 49. **r** (gum-open-voice). Lorton *r* never disappears altogether, but we can distinguish two different degrees of the *r*-strength according to the nature of the neighbouring sounds: *r*₁ and *r*₂; *r*₁ is strongly trilled like the Swedish and German *r* (see § 278 below, and Ellis, *E. E. Pr.*, p. 84*). *r*₂ is the *r* described by Ellis, *E. E. Pr.*, v, p. 85* (*r*) (cf. below, § 280).

On *r* before a following dental cf. § 281 below. It occurs initially, medially, and finally.

*r*₁: **rau** raw, **rist** to rest, **ruf** rough, **briád** broad, **frozn** frozen, **grau** to grow, **borə** to borrow, **swori** sorry, **bārŋ** child, **byrn** to burn.

*r*₂: **stēərən** pres. p. staring, **wāri** wary, **bārŋ** to bark, **dārŋ** dark, **spārŋ** spark, **boðər** to bother, **bruðər** brother, **fau(w)ər** four.

§ 50. **s** (blade-open-breath, like standard English *s* in *seek*, *blossom*), occurs in all positions.

sai scythe, **sau** to sew, **siʏn** soon, **smidi** smithy, **baskət** basket, **blosm** blossom, **liŋ** to listen, **rùsl** to wrestle, **ants** ants, **mʏus** mouse, **tšois** choice.

§ 51. **š** (blade-open-point-breath), like standard English *sh* in *ship*, *radish*. It occurs in all positions.

šap shape, šak to shake, šip ship, tšans chance, tšāmbər chamber, fašin fashion, kabiš cabbage, mitš much, weš to wash.

§ 52. t (gum-stop-breath, like standard English *t*), occurs in all positions.

tenz tongs, top top, tiuf tough, tlap to clap, tlokər a broody hen, bitər bitter, butər butter, jistəḡə yesterday, ratn-trap rat-trap, druft drought, et hot, lat lath.

§ 53. t̥ (superdental gum-stop-breath, like the combination *rt* in Swedish *hjärta*); it arises from *r* + *a* following *t* after a vowel in medial and final position.

āt heart, smāt smart, tlāti muddy, dirty, wāt wart, dūt dirt, dūti dirty (see above, *q*, § 38).

§ 54. p (teeth-open-breath, like the *th* in standard English *thing*), occurs initially and finally.

pisl (or p̥isl) thistle, pum thumb, p̥uzn(d) thousand, baḡ bath, brēḡ breadth, lenḡ length, wurḡ worth.

§ 55. ṭ (teeth-open-voice, like the *th* in standard English *though*), occurs initially and finally.

ṭan then, ṭat that, ṭiər there, ṭ̥u (ṭ̥) thou, bæṭ to bathe, sm̥uṭ smooth.

§ 56. v (lip-teeth-open-voice, like the *v* in standard English *vicen*), occurs initially, medially, and finally.

varə very, vois voice, avər oats, nevi nephew, raiv to tear, m̥uv to move.

§ 57. w (lip-back-open-voice, like standard English *w*), occurs initially and medially.

water water, wār̥k work, wid with, wōt̥šəḡ orchard, wop hope, dwel to dwell, dwinkl to dwindle, twilt quilt, fau(w)ər four, stau(w)ən pp. stolen.

§ 58. z (blade-open-voice, like the *z* in standard English *freeze*), occurs medially and finally.

buzm bosom, fezn̥t pheasant, gezlin gosling, puzn poison, beliz bellows, blāz to blaze, raiz to rise, rwoz rose, tliáz clothes.

§ 59. ž (blade-point-open-voice, like the *ž* in standard English *treasure*), occurs medially and finally in the combinations dž and nž.

džudž to judge, ædž age, inž hinge, swinž to singe, indžin engine.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD ENGLISH, MIDDLE ENGLISH, AND OLD FRENCH EQUIVALENTS OF THE LORTON VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. SHORT VOWELS

a

§ 60. Lorton a corresponds to :

1. OE. æ (a) and ȝ (before nasals) in originally closed syllables (§ 90) : **apl** apple, **as** ashes, **blak** black, **bras** brass, **dlas** glass, **draft** draught, **lam** lamb, **slaftər** slaughter, **swan** swan, **wasp** wasp.

2. In a few cases OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables before a suffix containing l or r (§ 100) : **amər** hammer, **faðər** father, **ladl** ladle, **sadl** saddle, **watər** water, and in the words **akən** acorn, **mak** to make, **šak** to shake, **šap** shape, **tak** to take (§ 105).

3. OE. ēa (shortened, § 199) : **laðər** lather, **šaf** sheaf, **tšap** chap.

4. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) (§ 207) : **barəl** barrel, **fašin** fashion, **kabiš** cabbage, **karət** carrot, **natrəl** natural, **vali** value.

5. ME. au before a nasal combination (§ 240, b, 2) : **ant** aunt, **branš** branch, **dans** dance, **tšans** chance, **tšant** to chant.

e

§ 61. Lorton e corresponds to :

1. OE. ě in originally closed syllables (§ 106) : **edž** edge, **fetš** to fetch, **nek** neck, **net** net, **retš** wretch, **set** to set, **preš** to thresh.

2. OE. æ (a) (although this e in some cases probably is of Scandinavian origin ; see § 97) : **esp** hasp, **eftər** after, **eltər** halter, **eš** ash (-tree), **gev** pret. gave, **kest** to cast, **peŋk** to thank, **weš** to wash, **kredl** cradle, **gem** game, **ežl** hazel.

3. OE. e in originally open syllables before a following l, r, n, or y (ig)-suffix (§ 116) : **evn** heaven, **feðər** feather, **leðər** leather, **weðər** weather.

4. Anglican *ē* (WS. *ǣ*) from W. Germanic *ā*, in a few words (§ 166, note I): **bled**_x bladder, **brēp** breath, **let** to let, **red** pret. read, **seta**_d Saturday, **wet** wet.

5. OE. *ǣ*, arisen through *i*-mutation of OE. *a* (§ 163): **el**_p health, **em**_ti empty, **eni** any, **fleš** flesh, **len** to lend (OE. *lǣnan*), **les** less.

6. Early shortening of OE. *ē*, arisen through *i*-mutation of *ō* (§ 169, note): **bled** pret. of to bleed, **bles** to bless, **fed** pret. of to feed.

7. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *e* (§ 211): **det** debt, **dželəs** jealous, **medl** to meddle, **sens** sense, **trem**_l to tremble.

8. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ai* (§ 212): **feznt** pheasant, **plezər** pleasure, **vesl** vessel.

9. ME. *ai*, *ei*, of French origin (§ 238, note) in three words: **fent** faint, **əkwent** to acquaint, **pent** to paint.

i

§ 62. Lorton *i* corresponds to:

1. OE. *i* apart from influence of neighbouring sounds (§ 120): **bid** to invite, **bit** sb. bit, **flik** flitch, **lik** to lick, **pi**_p pith, **st**_itš stitch, **ti**_ŋklər tinker, **wind** to wind, **find** to find.

2. OE. *e* before *a* following *ŋ*, *nž* (§ 110): **in**_lənd England, **krin**_ž to cringe, **mi**_ŋl to mingle, **stri**_ŋ string, **swin**_ž to singe.

3. OE. *e* influenced by palatal consonants (§ 112): **bin**_š bench, **jist**_adə yesterday, **jit** yet, **stri**_{tš} to stretch.

4. OE. *y* (§ 148): **brig** bridge, **dizi** dizzy, **kis** to kiss, **lisn** to listen, **mid**_ž midge.

5. OE. *ǣ*, arisen through *i*-mutation of OE. *ā* (§ 163) in three words: **ivər** ever, **iv**(ə)**ri** every, **nivər** never.

6. OE. *ī* (shortened, § 173): **dwin**_l to dwindle, **fift** fifth, **fifti** fifty, **di**_{tš} ditch, **wizd**_m wisdom.

7. OE. *ȳ* (shortened, § 192): **fil**_p filth, **fist** fist, **tšikin** chicken, **pi**_ml thimble, **wi**_š wish.

8. ME. *i* (of French origin, § 215): **dinər** dinner, **livər** to deliver, **list** to enlist, **si**_dəš scissors.

o

§ 63. Lorton *o* corresponds to:

1. OE. *ō* in originally closed syllables (§ 131): **bod**_m bottom, **boks** box, **folə** to follow, **kok** cock, **kros** cross, **lopstər** lobster, **otər** otter.

2. OE. *ð* in originally open syllables in a few words (§ 139): **bodi** body, **brokn** pp. broken, **frozn** pp. frozen, **lonin** lane, **oli** holly, **spokn** pp. spoken, **los** to lose.

3. OE. *ō* (shortened, § 185): **blosm** blossom, **foðær** fodder, **fostær** to foster, **kom** pret. came, **soft** soft.

4. ME. *o* (of French origin, § 216): **kofin** coffin, **kost** cost, **onær** honour, **profit** profit, **rok** rock, **podiš** porridge.

u

§ 64. Lorton *u* corresponds to:

1. OE. *u* before, after, or between labials and before nasals, gutturals, and *l* (§ 140): **bul** bull, **butær** butter, **stubi** thickset, **wulin** woollen, **ful** full, **skul** skull, **pluk** pluck, **kum** to come, **sum** some, **suŋ** (pret. and pp.) sung, **tuŋ** tongue, **fund** pp. found, **grund** ground, **pund** pound.

2. OE. *ī* influenced by a preceding *w* (§ 121, note) in: **swum** to swim, **wul** vb. will, **wusl** to whistle, **wusper** to whisper.

3. OE. *y* (§ 149) in some words: **ful** to fill, **šrub** shrub, **brumstn** brimstone.

4. OE. *ū* (shortened, § 187): **but** but, **duv** dove, **fus** fuss, **plum** plum, **þum** thumb.

5. ME. *u* (< O. Fr. *u*, § 218): **butn** button, **dubl** double, **kuntri** country, **mustæð** mustard, **mutn** mutton.

ù

§ 65. Lorton *ù* corresponds to:

1. OE. *u* before and between dentals (§ 143): **nùt** nut, **rùdi** ruddy, **stùtær** to stutter, **šùdær** to shudder, **tlùstær** to cluster.

2. OE. *y* (§ 149) in a few words: **blùš** to blush, **mùtš** much, **šùt** to shut, **krùtš** crutch, **mùri** merry, **wùri** to worry, **wùrk** to work, **wùrm** worm.

3. OE. *ō* (shortened, § 185): **brùðær** brother, **gùd** good, **mùnde** Monday, **mùnþ** month.

4. ME. *u* (< O. Fr. *u*, § 218): **dùzn** dozen, **grùdž** to grudge, **krùst** crust, **tùtš** to touch.

ȳ

§ 66. Lorton *ȳ* corresponds to:

1. OE. *ī* followed by an *r* + cons. (§ 125): **byrk** birch, **byrd** bird, **kȳrk** church.

2. OE. *u* followed by an *r* + cons. (§ 144): **dušt** (2nd pers. pres. ind.) durst, **kyš** to curse, **mȳrn** to mourn, **tȳrf** turf.

3. OE. *y* followed by an *r* + *cons.* (§ 150): *byrþ* birth, *fyrst* first, *kurnl* kernel, *myrdær* murder, *myrþ* mirth.

4. ME. *u* (< O. Fr. *u*) followed by an *r* + *cons.* (§ 220, *a*): *nyš* nurse, *puš* purse, *turmet* turnip.

2. LONG VOWELS

ā

§ 67. Lorton *ā* corresponds to:

1. OE. *æ* (*a*, *ea*) before a following *r* + *cons.*: *ārvist* harvest, *jād* yard, *spārk* spark, *šārp* sharp, *wārm* warm, *wārn* to warn, *wāt* (*wārt*) wart (§ 95).

2. W. Germ. *e* (OE. *eor*, *ior*, *er*, ME. *er*, *ar*) in the combination *e* + *r* + *cons.* (§ 113): *bārk* to bark, *dārk* dark, *kārv* to carve, *stārv* to starve, *wārk* work.

3. ME., O. Fr. *a* in the combination *ar* + *cons.* (§ 210): *bārbær* barber, *gādin* garden, *kwāt* quart, *pāt* part.

4. ME. *ę* (of French origin) in the combination *ęr* + *cons.* (§ 214): *kənsārən* concern, *māši* mercy, *sārvənt* servant, *sātš* to search, *vārmənt* vermin.

æ

§ 68. Lorton *æ* corresponds to:

1. OE. *æ* (*a*) in originally open syllables in a few words: *bæð* to bathe, *biæv* to behave, *fræm* frame (§ 103).

2. OE. *æg* (ME. *ai*, § 98): *bræn* brain, *dæ* day, *dæzi* daisy, *fæn* fain, *mæn* main, *slæn* pp. slain.

3. OE. *æ* (*a*) before an *r* in originally open syllables (§ 104): *æer* hare, *bær* bare, *fær* to fare, *kær* care, *spær* to spare.

4. OE. *e* before a following *g* (= ME. *ei*, § 115): *æil* to ail, *blæn* blain, *əwæ* away, *ræn* rain, *sæl* sail.

5. OE. *ā* in the combination *ār* (§ 158): *mær* more, *sær* sore.

6. Angl. *ē* (WS. *æ*) in the combination *ēg* (§ 168): *græ* gray.

7. OE. *æ*, arisen through *i*-mutation of OE. *ā*, in the combination *æg* (§ 164): *ædær* either (OE. *ægðer*), *kæ* key, *næ* to neigh, *nædær* neither, *tlæ* clay.

8. OE. *ēa* in the combination *ēah* (§ 195): *flæ* flea, *næbær* neighbour.

9. ME. *ā* (of French origin, § 224): *ædž* age, *dændžær* danger, *pędž* page, *wędžiz* wages.

10. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ei*, *ai* (§ 225, note) in three words: *disæt* deceit, *kənsæt* conceit, *rəsæt* receipt.

11. ME. *ai, ei* < O. Fr. *ai, ei* (§ 238): *ǣm* aim, *bǣli* bailiff, *fǣþ* faith, *gǣn* to gain, *mǣn* main.

12. ME. *au* < O. Fr. *a* before a nasal combination (§ 240): *strǣndž* strange, *tšǣndž* to change, *dǣndžær* danger.

13. ME. *ai, ei*, of French origin before an *r* (§ 241): *ǣr* heir, *fær* fair, *pær* pair, *tšær* chair.

ī

§ 69. Lorton *ī* corresponds to:

1. Anglian *ē* (= WS. *ǣ*) from W. Germanic *ā* (§ 165): *dīd* deed, *nīdl* needle, *sīd* seed, *slīp* to sleep, *šīp* sheep, *tšīz* cheese, *prīd* thread.

2. OE. *e* before *ld* (§ 109): *fīld* field, *jīld* to yield, *wīld* to wield.

3. OE. *e* in the combination *eht, eoht*, ME. *iht, ight* (§ 114): *brīt* bright, *rīt* right, *strīt* straight.

4. OE. *ī* in the combination *iht*, ME. *iht, ight* (§ 126): *dīt* to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, *nīt* night, *sīt* sight.

5. Medial OE. *ig* (§ 127) in *stīl* stile.

6. OE. *y* in the combination *yht* (§ 152): *flīt* flight, *frīt* fright, *rīt* wright.

7. OE. *ē* arisen through *i*-mutation of *ō* (§ 169): *blīd* to bleed, *brīd* to breed, *fīd* to feed, *fīl* to feel, *fīt* feet, *gīs* geese, *grīn* green, *kīn* keen.

8. Anglian *ē* (W. Sax. *īe*) from the *i*-mutation of the diphthongs *ēa, ēo* (§ 170): *bēlīv* to believe, *īt* height, *nīd* need, *slīv* sleeve, *šīt* sheet.

9. Anglian *ē* (= W. Sax. *ēo, ēa*) before the palatals *c, g, h* (§ 170, II): *ī* high, *līt* light, *lītnīn* lightning, *rīk* to smoke, reek, *sīk* sick, *flī* to fly.

10. OE. *ē*, arising from lengthening in monosyllables: *ī* he, *mī* me, *wī* we.

11. OE. *ēa* in the combination *ēah* (§ 195): *ī* high, *lī* lea, *nī* nigh, near.

12. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ie* (§ 228): *grīf* grief, *nīs* niece, *pīs* piece.

13. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *oe, ue* (§ 228. 3): *bīf* beef, *pīpl* people.

14. Original OE. *ēo* (*īo*) in some words (§ 201. 2): *bī* to be, *bī* bee, *etwīn* between, *flī* to fly, *frī* free, *prī* three.

ō

§ 70. Lorton ō corresponds to :

1. OE. ag, aw (ME. au) : dōn dawn, lō law, mō maw, nō to gnaw (§ 99).

2. OE. al + cons. : bōk balk, fō to fall, kō to call, kōf calf, ōf half, sōv salve, smō small, wō wall, kōld cold, ōld old (§ 96).

3. OE. ā in the combination āw (§ 159) : blō to blow, krō to crow, nō to know, sō to sow, prō to throw.

4. OE. ā in the combination āg (§ 160) : ō to owe, ōn adj. own.

5. ME. a (< O. Fr. a) in the combination all, al + cons. (§ 208) : bō ball, ōmēnak almanac, ōmēnd almond, skōd to scald.

6. ME. ȳ (< O. Fr. o, § 217) before a following r : fōtſæn fortune, kōrnær corner, mōtær mortar.

7. ME. au < O. Fr. au (§ 240) : fōt fault, frōd fraud, pō paw.

ū

§ 71. Lorton ū corresponds to :

1. OE. i followed by an r + cons. (§ 125) : būd bird, þūd third, þūti thirty.

2. OE. u followed by an r + cons. (§ 144) : fūr furrow, kūdz curds.

3. OE. y followed by an r + cons. (§ 150) : būdīn burden, gūdl girdle, mūdær murder, ūdl hurdle.

4. ME. u < O. Fr. u, followed by an r + cons. (§ 220, a) : džūni journey, fūniſ to furnish, ūt to hurt.

3. DIPHTHONGS

ai

§ 72. Lorton ai corresponds to :

1. OE. ī (§ 171) : baid to bide, braidl bridle, daik dike, laif life, naif knife, said side.

2. OE. ŷ (§ 190) : braid bride, brain brine, daiv to dive, praid pride, skai sky.

3. OE. i before ld (§ 124) : maild mild, tšaild child, waild wild.

4. Medial OE. iȝ in : naīn nine, tail tile (§ 127).

5. OE. y followed by nd (§ 151) : kaind (OE. *gecynde*) kind, maind sb. mind, maind to mind.

6. ME. ī of French origin (§ 229) : dēlait delight, əblaidž to oblige, fain fine, prais price, saiziz assizes, trai to try.

au

§ 73. Lorton au corresponds to :

1. OE. *ō* in the combination *oht* (§ 132) : *baut* bought, *dauter* daughter, *faut* (pret., pp.) fought, *raut* (pret., pp.) wrought.

2. OE. *og* (medial) : *bau* (OE. *boga*) bow (§ 133).

3. OE. *ō* in the combination *ol* + *cons.* (§ 134) : *baustər* bolster, *baut* bolt, *kaut* colt.

4. OE. *ā* in the combination *āw* in some words (§ 159) : *aut* aught, anything, *auḡər* either (pron. and conj.), *nauḡər* neither (pron. and conj.), *naut* naught, nothing, *saul* soul, *pau* to thaw.

5. OE. *ā* in the combination *āg* (§ 160) : *aun* (OE. *āgnian*) to own, to possess.

6. OE. *ō* in the combination *ōht* (§ 182) : *braut* brought, *saut* sought, *paut* pret. and pp. thought.

7. OE. *ō* in the combination *ōw* (§ 184) : *dlau* to glow, *grau* to grow, *stau* to stow.

8. ME. *ō* of French origin before *ll* or *l* + *cons.* (§ 232) : *maud* mould, *raul* to roll.

ei

§ 74. Lorton ei occurs only in a few stray words which all seem to have been introduced from neighbouring dialects or standard English :

eit eight (§ 94, note), *feit* to fight (§ 114), *wei* to weigh (§ 115, note), *weit* weight (§ 126, note).

eī

§ 75. Lorton eī corresponds to :

1. OE. *ē* in originally open syllables (§ 118) : (*e*)*it* to eat, *meīl* meal, *meīt* meat, *steīl* to steal, *treīd* to tread.

2. OE. *æ* arisen through *i*-mutation of OE. *ā* (§ 162) : *bleītš* to bleach, *deīl* to deal, (*ē*)*il* to heal, *leīd* to lead, *tleīn* clean.

3. OE. *ēa* (§ 194) : *beīm* beam, *beīn* bean, *dreīm* dream, *greīt* great, *leīf* leaf.

4. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ei*, *ai* (§ 225) : *diseīv* to deceive, (*e*)*īzi* easy, *greīzi* greasy, *pleīz* to please, *seīzn* season.

5. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *e*, *eé* (§ 227) : *feīmæl* female, *preītš* to preach, *seīkrət* secret, *veīl* veal.

6. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *e* before *st* (§ 226) : *beīst* beast, *feīst* feast, *kreīm* cream.

7. Original OE. *ēo* (Anglian *ēa*, § 201. 1) : *deīp* deep, *fleīs* fleece, *kreīp* to creep, *leīf* leaf.

iá (ja)

§ 76. Lorton iá (ja in initial position) corresponds to :

1. OE. æ (a) in originally open syllables (§ 102) : bliád blade, biák to bake, diál dale, jakr acre, jal ale, kiák cake, skiálz scales.

2. OE. ā, when apart from influences of neighbouring sounds (§ 154) : bián bone, biáp both, əlián alone, grián to groan, liáf loaf, miást most, riáp rope, siáp soap, stián stone, tliáz clothes, jak oak, jam home, jans once.

3. ME. ā of O. Fr. origin (§ 222) : bliám to blame, fiás face, jabl able, kiás case, liás to lace, stiábl stable, tiást taste.

iə

§ 77. Lorton iə corresponds to :

1. OE. e before an r in originally open syllables (§ 117) : biər to bear, piər pear, swiər to swear, tiər to tear, wiər to wear.

2. OE. ā when final (§ 156) : siə so, slīə sloe, tiə toe, wiə who, niə adj. no.

3. Anglian ē (from W. Germanic ā) in the combination ēr (§ 167) : biər bier, briər briar, fiər to fear, čīər there.

4. Anglian ē (from the *i*-mutation of ēa, ēo) before an r (§ 170, I) : iər to hear, iəd pp. heard.

5. ME. ē < O. Fr. e before an r : fiəs fierce, tliər clear.

ių (ju)

§ 78. Lorton ių corresponds to :

1. OE. ō (§ 177) : briųm broom, dliųm gloom, fiųt foot, giųs goose, tiųp tooth, spiųn spoon.

2. ME. ō of French origin in the words : biųt boot, fiųl fool (§ 233).

iú

§ 79. Lorton iú corresponds to :

1. ME. ũ of French origin (§ 237) : diúti duty, fiúť flute, miúsik music, stiúpid stupid.

2. ME. eu (iu) of French origin (§ 243) : biúti beauty, siút suit.

oi

§ 80. Lorton oi corresponds to :

ME. oi, ui of French origin (§ 242) : boil to boil, džoin to join, koin coin, noiz noise, oil oil, vois voice.

ou

§ 81. Lorton ou corresponds to :

1. OE. *ǣ* before *ld* in *bould* bold, *ƿould* to fold (§ 96).
2. OE. *ō* in the combination *ol* + *cons.* (§ 134 note II) : *gould* gold, *ƿoul* toll.

yu

§ 82. Lorton yu corresponds to :

1. OE. *ū* (§ 186) : *bruun* brown, *ƿul* foul, *lūs* louse, *myus* mouse, *tlut* clout.
2. OE. medial *u* (§ 145) in *ƿul* fowl.
3. OE. *ū* before *nd* (§ 142, note I) in *gruund* ground, *uund* hound.
4. OE. *u* in the combination *u* + *l* + *cons.* (§ 146) in *šyudær* shoulder.
5. ME. *ū* of French origin (§ 235) : *byunti* bounty, *dyut* doubt, *əmyunt* amount, *gyut* gout, *kyunt* to count, *syund* sound.

wō

§ 83. Lorton wō corresponds to :

1. OE. *ō* in the combination *or* + *cons.* (§ 135) : *bwōd* board, *əfwōd* to afford, *kworn* corn, *mwornin* morning, *šwōt* short, *pworn* thorn.
2. OE. *ō* in originally open syllables (§ 138) : *bworn* pp. born, *gwot* channel, millstream, *kwol* coal, *nwoz* nose, *wol* hole, *wop* to hope.
3. ME. *ō* of French origin (§ 231) : *klwos* close, *kwot* coat, *nwobl* noble, *pwotš* to poach, *rwost* to roast.

4. TRIPHTHONGS

aiə

§ 84. Lorton aiə corresponds to :

1. OE. *ī* in the combination *īr* (§ 174) : *aiəŋ* iron, *spaiər* spire, *waiər* wire.
2. OE. *ȳ* in the combination *ȳr* (§ 191) : *aiər* to hire, *faier* fire.
3. ME. *ī* of French origin in a few words (§ 230) : *raiət* riot, *vai(ə)lēt* violet, *waiət* quiet.

au(w)ə

§ 85. Lorton au(w)ə corresponds to :

1. OE. medial *o* (§ 133) : *flauwən* (pp., OE. *flōgen*) flown.

2. OE. *o* in the combination *o* + *l* (with vocalization of the *l*, § 139, note II) in *stau(w)æn* pp. stolen.

3. OE. *eo* + *w* (§ 205) in *fau(w)ær* four.

eʊu

§ 86. Lorton *eʊu* corresponds to :

OE. *ea* in the combination *ēaw* (§ 197) : *deʊu* dew, *feʊu* few, *teʊu* to toil, to work hard.

iʊə

§ 87. Lorton *iʊə* corresponds to :

1. ME. *ū* + *e* of French origin (§ 237) in *griuəl* gruel, *kriuəl* cruel, *siuət* suet.

2. ME. *ū* + *r* of French origin (§ 237) : *siuər* sure.

iʊu

§ 88. Lorton *iʊu* corresponds to :

1. OE. *ī* in the combination *īw* (§ 175) : *ti(ʊ)uzdæ* Tuesday, *spiʊu* to spew.

2. OE. *ō* in the combination *ōh* (*ōg*) (§ 183) : *biʊu* bough, *driʊu* pret. drew, *sliʊu* pret. slew.

3. OE. *iw* (§ 129) in *tliʊu* clue, ball.

4. ME. *ū* of French origin (in final position, § 237) : *diʊu* due.

ʊu(w)ə

§ 89. Lorton *ʊu(w)ə* corresponds to :

1. OE. *ō* before an *r* (§ 181) : *flʊu(w)ær* floor, *mʊu(w)ær* moor.

2. OE. *ū* in the combination *ūr* (§ 188) : *šʊu(w)ær* shower, *ʊu(w)ær* our.

3. ME. *ū* of French origin before an *r* (§ 236) : *flʊu(w)ær* flower, *pʊ(u)wær* power, *tʊu(w)ær* tower, *ʊu(w)ær* hour.

CHAPTER III

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. SHORT VOWELS

a

§ 90. OE. æ (a) and ȳ (before nasals)=ME. a in originally closed syllables.

The normal development of OE. æ (a), ȳ (before nasals)=ME. a in the Lorton dialect, as well as in all the other dialectal varieties of Cumberland, is a (cf. § 3). This a has maintained itself surprisingly pure, having undergone influence from neighbouring sounds only in a very few cases, not even a preceding w nor a following nasal or nasal combination having exercised any noticeable influence on this vowel.

The only changes, caused by neighbouring sounds, are :

1. Lengthening before r + cons. (§ 95).
2. The transition a > ō combined with lengthening caused by a following ll or l + cons. (§ 96).
3. The special development of OE. æȝ—ME. ai into ǣ, and OE. aȝ, aw—ME. au into ō (§§ 98, 99).

In the list of examples given in the following paragraphs will be found many words where OE. breaking of a into ea has taken place before a following r or h + cons., but in these cases (as well as in others, where a secondary change of the original OE. vowel has been caused by neighbouring sounds) I have started from the original OE. unbroken forms (with an a), the OE. breaking having exercised no influence on the dialectal development of these vowels. I have followed this principle in all the lists of examples illustrating the Lorton development of the OE. vowels.

Examples of OE. æ (a) in originally closed syllables are : aks axe, amər hammer, ansər answer, apl apple, arə arrow, bag bag (perhaps Scand. ; cf. Appendix), bak back, blak black, dlad glad, drag to pull, drag, fadm to fathom, falə fallow, flaks flax, gad to

gossip, to run about gossiping (*gadən əbʊt*), *gad* sb. gossip (prob. < OE. *gæd* society, fellowship, company), *galəz* gallows, *galəsiz* braces, *jat* gate, *kaf* (OE. *ceaf*) chaff, *kap* cap, *kat* cat, *krak* (cf. OE. *cearcian*) chat, *lad* (ME. *ladde*, prob. Celt. origin) boy, *lat* lath, *stap* step or rung of a ladder (< OE. *stæpe*), *marə* marrow, *nap* nap, *narə* narrow, *nat* gnat, *rat* rat (but *ratn* in the compound *ratn-trap* < O. Fr. *râton*, ME. *raton*), *sad* sad (used of bread which has not risen: pasty), *sal* shall, *salə* sallow, *sat* pret. sat, *slak* slack, slow, *spak* pret. spoke, *sparə* sparrow, *stag* stag, *šadə* shadow, *tlap* (ME. *clappen*; cf. OE. *clæppetung* throbbing, pulsation) to clap, *tlatər* (frequentative of the imitative stem *clat*, occurring in OE. *clatrun* clattering) to clatter, *tlat* gossip, *tlati-paiət* a gossiping woman (*paiət*=magpie; see N. E. D. sub *pie*), *trap* trap, snare, *pak* to thatch.

§ 91. A preceding *w* has exercised no influence whatever on the following vowel:

wasp wasp, *swan* swan, *swap* to exchange, barter (fr. ME. *swappen* to beat or strike, transferred sense: to beat down the price; cf. the analogous expressions: to *beat* or *strike* a bargain), *waks* wax, *wandər* to wander, *wad* district, beat (< OE. *wadan* to go), *watš* watch, *wat* what (acc. form).

Neither has *a* undergone any qualitative change in this position when lengthened by a following *r* + *cons.*:

wārm warm, *wārn* to warn, *wāt* wart.

§ 92. *æ* (*a*) followed by *ss*, *s* + *cons.*, *f* + *cons.*, and *þ* has remained unchanged:

ask (also *aks*, *eks*, *as*) to ask, *askinz* banns, *bras* brass, *brast* pret. burst, *bas* basket (see N.E.D. sub *bass*, *bast*), *dlas* glass, *fasn* to fasten, *fast* fast, *flask* flask, *gras* (also *guš* with *r*-metathesis) grass, *kasl* castle, *last* last.

a + *f* + *cons.*: *daft* silly, foolish (< ME. *dafte* gentle, innocent), *kraft* craft, *staf* staff, *šaft* shaft.

a + *þ*: *baþ* bath, *paþ* path.

§ 93. *a* (*o*) followed by nasals and nasal combinations has remained unchanged, except in the case of *mb*, where lengthening has taken place in early Middle English (see Wright, *W. H. Gr.*, § 66).

a (*o*) followed by *m* or *n*: *am* ham, *anl* handle, *bigan* pret. began, *dam* a dam or mill-pond, *kanl* candle, *kram* to cram, *man* man (on the different forms of *man*, when used as a pronoun of address, see Accidence), *pan* pan, *ran* pret. ran.

a (o) + nd : and hand, brand brand, fand pret. found, land land, sand sand, stand to stand.

a (o) + ŋ, ŋk : aŋ (not often used, mostly iŋ ; cf. Appendix) to hang, aŋkər anchor, aŋkl ankle, əlaŋ along, əmaŋ among, draŋk pret. drank, gaŋ (or gā, see § 150, note I) to go, laŋ long, raŋk rank, saŋ song, saŋ pret. sang, saŋk pret. sank, straŋ strong, šaŋk shank, šuwaŋ (< OE. *þwang*, ME. *þwong*, with loss of initial þ) shoe-lace, þraŋ busy.

NOTE I. In kwōm comb and wūm womb, we find the preceding vowel lengthened through the influence of a following mb, but these two words are probably dialect loans.

NOTE II. In lam lamb, we find no lengthening of the stem-vowel. Holthausen (*Litt. Ztg.*, 1855) looks upon the modern short forms of this word as a new formation from the plur. *lambru* (cf. in Ormulum *lammbre* acc. plur., but sing. *lamb*).

§ 94. a + ht (xt) (cf. below, gutturals, chapter vi, and Horn, *Untersuchungen*, chapter viii) ; a has undergone no change :

draft draught, slafter slaughter, lafter laughter ; cf. also laf vb. to laugh.

NOTE. a has become ei in eit eight, eit' eighth (cf. ME. *eighte* Chaucer, *ekte* Orm.) ; this word seems to be a dialect loan.

§ 95. ar (OE. ear, § 90) followed by a consonant (cf. r-sound, §§ 278 ff.). The vowel has regularly been lengthened into ā. The quantity of this ā varies slightly : it is full length when the r is followed by a voiced consonant, as in wārm, āđ ; between half and full length when the r is followed by a voiceless consonant as in pārķ, šārp.

Examples : ārk ark, chest, bin (for instance, meil-ārk meal-chest, from OE. *earc*), ārm arm, ārm harm, bārli barley (mostly called big, cf. App.), skārń dung, mārķ mark, ārn to earn, āđ (or ārd) hard, ārvist harvest, pārķ park, šārp sharp, spārķ spark, wārm warm, wārn to warn, ārp harp, swārm swarm, stārķ stark, āđən (or ārdən) to harden, jāđ (or jārd) yard, wāđ (or wārd) ward.

§ 96. al followed by a consonant or final all (on l, its vocalization and its influence on a preceding a, cf. below, §§ 272 ff.; Horn, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 11 ff.; Sweet, *Hist. of Engl. Sounds*, § 908 ; Kjederqvist, *Pewsey Dialect*, p. 107).

al + cons. or final all has become ō everywhere, except before a voiced dental (§ 274).

Examples : a + l + guttural : bōķ balk, tšōķ chalk, tōķ talk,

wōk walk, stōk to stalk; l in this position seems to have been vocalized in all English dialects (preserved in *walk*, North Devonshire).

a+l+labial: kōf calf, ōf half, sōv salve, ōpni halfpenny.

al, all when final in the Lorton dialect: ō all, kō to call, fō to fall (also used in transitive sense: to fell).

wō wall, smō small, gō gall (note, however, that this ll was medial in OE.).

a+l+dental: l has been vocalized and become ō as usual before a t: mōt malt, sōt salt (cf. Horn, *Untersuchungen*, p. 20).

In the combination a+ld, l has been preserved in the Lorton dialect and a became ō or ɔu:

a>ō in kōld cold, ōld old, bōld bald, fōld sb. fold.

a>ɔu in bɔuld bold, fɔuld vb. to fold.

NOTE I. OE. a was lengthened in the above-mentioned words before ld during the OE. period, but I have registered them under this paragraph, the original stem-vowel being a short a.

NOTE II. There are, however, traces of an old vocalization of l before a following d. In od vb. to hold, l has been vocalized, and the infinitive od may be looked upon as a new formation from the pp. odn, where the stem-vowel was regularly shortened (cf. Wright, *W. H. Gr.*, § 64). Other traces of this l-vocalization are, for instance, the expression tɔud man the old man, occasionally heard from old people; also in the placename of Kōdbek, with the l still preserved in spelling, Caldbeck.

In other parts of Cumberland forms without an l before d are more common, and they are frequently met with in dialect records.

It is therefore probable that this vocalization of l before d has taken place freely all over Cumberland, and that the numerous l-forms of Lorton must be ascribed to literary influence.

(Ellis, iii, p. 883, gives a pronouncing form *boud* for bold in his pronouncing vocabulary of the sixteenth century; cf. also Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 908.)

NOTE III. Original a (OE. ea) has become iə in biəd beard, via ME. e, berde, berd (cf. gīər from *gerwi*, ME. *gere*, App.).

§ 97. In a small number of words we find e instead of a, owing to various reasons. In some words the e is no doubt of Scandinavian origin:

efter after, OE. *æfter*, ME. *efter*, found in Barbour, *Bruce*, i. 127, *eftir*; cf. ON. *eptir* prep., Dan. and Swed. *efter*.

sek sack (OE. *sacc*), cf. Icel. *sekk*.

esp hasp (OE. *hæps*, metathesis from *hæsp*); ME. (Prompt. Parv.) *hespe*, Icel., ON. *hespa*.

eltar halter (OE. *hælfter*); we find the corresponding e-forms in ME. *heltir* (Prompt. Parv. 235), *heltre* (Townl. 313).

kest vb. to cast, pp. *kesn* (from ON. *kasta*); ME. e-forms in Ancr. R. 56 *kesten*, Hav. 1784 *kesten*, Ayenb. 99 *keste*.

In the words eš ash(-tree), weš to wash, þenċ vb. to thank, the e is due to the influence of the following š and ŋ-sounds. This raising of the a-vowel, owing to the palatal nature of the š and ŋ-sounds, is clearly evidenced in several dialects: in the Windhill dialect a has regularly been raised into e by a following ŋ, š (cf. *W. H. Gr.*, § 59). In Westmoreland (cf. Hirst, *The Dial. of Kendal*) we find the same forms weš, eš, þenċ. Similarly these e-forms occur in ME.; for instance, *weschen* Shor. 4, *wesche* Cath. 415, *wesse* Ayenb. 371, *esche* Prompt. Parv. 143. I have not found any ME. e-form of *thank*.

gev no doubt owes its e to the plural forms of the preterite. We also find e in ev, ez, ed have, has, had.

NOTE. Some of the above-mentioned e-forms may also be ascribed to *i*-mutation (cf. Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gram.* i, p. 131; Wright, *W. H. Gr.*, § 60).

§ 98. OE. æg—ME. ai—Lorton æ (§ 12).

Examples: bræn brain, dæ day, dæzi daisy, fæn fain, fæf fair, æl hail (but short in the usual word elstanz hail(stones)), læd pret. lay, tæl tail, mæn main, mæ may, næl nail, pæl pail, slæn slain.

NOTE. snil snail, points to an original e-form, and is regularly developed from OE. *snēl* (the standard English form *snail* from OE. *snægl*, *snegl*), ME. *snele* (Stratmann, *ME. Dict.*). It may also be derived from ON. *snigill* (medial *ig* > *i* in the Lorton dialect; cf. § 69. 5).

§ 99. OE. ag, aw—ME. au—Lorton ō.

Examples: dōn dawn, ōl awl, nō to gnaw, lō law, mō maw, sō saw.

NOTE. tlīa claw, points to an unrecorded form *clā.

§ 100. In the following words, where a is followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing l, r, we meet with a great variety of forms containing long or short stem-vowels, the long vowels arising from the nominative case with early lengthening, the short

ones from generalizing the regularly short stem-vowel of the oblique cases. In Lorton the short *a*-forms have been generalized:

ladl sb. ladle (but the verb *liádl*, cf. § 102), *sadl* saddle, *amər* hammer, *faðər* father, *water* water.

NOTE I. *a* has been lengthened into *æ* in *ræðər*.

NOTE II. We find *e* instead of *a* in *geðər* to gather, representing the numerous ME. *e*-forms of this word (cf. Stratmann, *gæderien*; Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, p. 131). *kredl* cradle, ME. *e* in *credel* Prompt. Parv. 101, *credil* Seven Sages, 789.

§ 101. OE. *æ* (*a*) in *originally open syllables* has given two different sounds in the Lorton dialect: in the majority of cases *iá* (§ 20), in the others *æ̃*.

The occurrence of *iá* and *æ̃* does not seem to be regulated in any way by the influence of neighbouring sounds, and some of the other dialectal varieties of Cumberland have generalized the *iá*-diphthong, so that they contain very few *æ̃*-forms. The *iá*-diphthong, representing as well *a* in open syllables as originally long OE. *ā* (§ 153), is by far the more common in Cumberland, and the *æ̃*-forms may partly be due to the influence of neighbouring dialects or even standard English. Some of these *æ̃*-words, however, are surely native words, judging from their character, and they probably represent an earlier stage of the lengthened vowel.¹

The *iá*-diphthongization seems to have started after the raising of the lengthened back-vowel into *æ̃* (this *æ̃* may have been raised further towards *ē*), and the first stage of the diphthongization process was then *æ̃ə*, a slight glide developing itself after the *æ̃*; this glide gains in strength, and we arrive at the next stage *eə*, which we find represented in the Yorkshire dialect (Wright, *W. H. Gr.*, § 70) and several others, as, for instance, Somerset, N. Devon (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.* and *Engl. D. Dict.*). By the usual dissimilating process, a gradual raising and closing of the first element into *e—i—i* and lowering of the second element *ə—e>a*, we arrive by the intermediate stages of *eə—iə*, as represented in the Westmoreland dialect (cf. Hirst, *Kendal Dial.*) and in several others (cf. *E. D. Gr.* and *E. D. D.*), to the *iá*-diphthong, the stress having gradually transferred itself to the second element. It is difficult to say when this diphthongization process started, but the *eeə*-forms in words like *meeən*, *neeəm* and others in Ellis's word-lists from the seventeenth century (*E. E. Pron.* iv, pp. 1001 ff.)

¹ See also § 224 below.

seem to represent the above-mentioned earliest stage of the diphthongization. We find what seems to be an analogous process in the OHG. change of *ê* into *ie*, where the *ia*-diphthong formed one of the intermediate stages ; cf. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (in Paul's *Grundriss*), § 52.

§ 102. OE. *æ*¹(a) in originally open syllables has become Lorton *iá* (when initial *ia* > *ja* ; after the liquids *l*, *r* the first element of the diphthong is lowered into *ĩ* or even *ę*) in the following words :

biák to bake, *bliád* blade, *diál* dale, *giávlæk* (OE. *gafeloc*) crowbar, *griáv* to dig (< OE. *grāfan*, but cf. the noun *grævn* grave), *jakr* acre, *jal* ale, *kiák*¹ cake, *liám* lame, *liát* late, *liádl* to ladle (out, but the corresponding noun is *ladl*, § 100 ; cf. also *griáv* to dig, versus *grævn* sb. grave), *mián* mane, *niám* name, *siám*¹ same, *siák* sake, *skiálz* scales, *stiák* stake, *stiál* pret. stole, *stíapl* staple, *šiám* (also *šam* with shortened stem-vowel) shame, *tiál* tale, *tiám* tame.

§ 103. OE. *æ* (a), ME. *a* in originally open syllables has become Lorton *æ* in :

æt to hate, *bæð* vb. to bathe, *bi(h)ævn* to behave, *blæz* to blaze, *fræm* frame, *grævn* grave, *græz* to graze, *kræn* crane, *mæt* mate, *wæl* whale.

§ 104. OE. *æ* (a), ME. *a* in the combination *æ* + *r*, *a* + *r* has always given *æ*, never *iá*, in the Lorton dialect :

Examples : *ær* hare, *bær* bare, *fær* to fare, *kær* to care, *spær* to spare, *stær* to stare, *šær* share.

NOTE I. A following *r* seems to have prevented the diphthongization into *iá* in Lorton, but this is not the case in several other dialectal varieties of Cumberland, where the above-mentioned words have been regularly diphthongized into *iá*, thus : *biár* bare, *kiár* to care, &c.

NOTE II. *lonin* lane, from OE. and ME. *o*-forms, *lone* lane, and *ing*-suffix (cf. *dokin* dock).

§ 105. We find a short *a*, although in originally open syllables, in the following words : *mak* to make, *tak* to take (Scand. loan in OE.), *šak* to shake, *šap* to shape, *akær* acorn. (We also find short *a*-forms of these words in the ME. dialects of the North.)

NOTE. We find a short *e* in *gem* game and *ezi* hazel ; cf. ME. *game*, Aynb. 34 ; *hesil*, Prompt. Parv. 238. This *e* may be due to *i*-umlaut (cf. forms as *hesil* (above), *gammin*, Barb. xi. 319 ; cf. also Morsb., ME. Gram., p. 131).

¹ Perhaps of Scand. origin, see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-w. in M.E.*, pp. 218, 244.

e

§ 106. OE. *e* in originally closed syllables.

The original West Germanic *ë* and the secondary OE. *e* which arose by the *i*-mutation of *a* (*o*) have completely fallen together in the Lorton dialect as well as in all the rest of the modern English dialects (cf. Kluge, *Gesch. der engl. Sprache*, § 96, and Ellis's word-lists, *E. E. P. v*).

The normal development of this W. Germ., OE. *e* (=ME. *e*) is *e* in the Lorton dialect (§ 4), but the vowel has undergone influence from neighbouring sounds in the following cases :

I. Lengthening and transition into *ī* before *ld* (§ 109).

II. *e* has become *i* when followed by *ŋ* (§§ 110. 2), *nž*, and in a few other cases (§ 111).

III. *e* in the combination *er* + *cons.* (OE. *er*, *eor*, ME. *er*, *ar* + *cons.*) has become *ā* (§ 113), in a few cases *u* (§ 113, note).

IV. *e* has become *ī* through compensation lengthening when arising from the combination *ext*, OE. *eht*, *eoht* (§ 114).

§ 107. Examples of *e* when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds :

bed *bed*, *best* *best*, *dem* (OE. *fordemman* to stop up) to *dam* (up), *eb* *ebb*, *edž* *edge*, *em* *hem*, *fetš* to *fetch*, *freš* *fresh*, *kres* *cross*, *lebm* *eleven*, *neb* *neb* (OE. *neb* *face*), *nek* *neck*, *nest* *nest*, *net* *net*, *netl* *nettle*, *retš* *wretch*, *sedž* *sedge*, *set* to *set*, *snek* (obscure origin, cf. ME. *snekke*, Stratmann) *door-latch*, *spek* *speck*, *stem* *stem*, *step* *step*, *twenti* *twenty*, *preš* to *thresh*, *prešeld* *threshold*, *web* *web*, *wed* to *wed*, *wedž* *wedge*, *weft* *weft*, *west* *west*, *slek* (OE. *gesleccan*, ME. *slecken*, but perhaps Scand., see App. ; used in the expression to *slek* *laim*), *wetstn* *whetstone*.

NOTE. *sek* *such*, no doubt represents the OE. and ME. *e*-forms of this word : OE. *swelc*, ME. *selk* (An. Lit. 5) ; also a form without *l* in Tor. of Port. 2241, *sech* (see Stratmann, *ME. Dict.*).

§ 108. *A* following *ll* or *l* + *cons.* (other than *d*) has exercised no influence on the *e*-vowel :

belər (< OE., ME. *bellen* + frequentative *er*-suffix) to *bellow*, *beli* *belly*, *beliz* *bellows*, *belt* *belt*, *dwel* to *dwell*, *el* *hell*, *elm* *helm*, *elp* to *help*, *els* *else*, *fel* to *fell* (for instance, to *fel* *ə* *trī* ; but otherwise to *fō*, for instance, in *wrestling* (*ryslən*)), *feli* *felloe*, *jelp* to *yelp*, *melt* to *melt*, *sel* *self*, *sel* to *sell*, *smel* to *smell*, *swel* to *swell*, *seldm* *seldom* (OE. *ě*), *šelf* *shelf*, *twelv* *twelve*, *welt* *welt*,

the inner sole of a boot; but also used in the original sense of the word, 'the upper hem of a stocking,' *wel* sb. well, *welp* whelp.

NOTE. *Well* adv. In Lorton, as well as in several other English dialects, we meet with two different forms of this word, (a) one short, *wel*; (b) one with long stem-vowel, *wīl*.

(a) *wel* is mostly used as an interjection, like standard English *well*, or expressing astonishment at a statement made by another person.

(b) *wīl*, mostly used as an adverb: *ī dūd it varə wīl* he did it very well.

We also find two ME. forms, *wēl* and *wēl* (*weel*), of which the second one, as well as the numerous forms with long vowel in the modern English dialects, points back to the OE. form with long vowel (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, *well*, and Bülbring, *A.E. Elem.-Buch*, § 284).

§ 109. *e* followed by *ld* has been lengthened in late OE. and become Lorton *ī*:

Examples: *fīld* field, *jīld* to yield (Angl. *e* but WS. *ie*), *wīld* to wield.

§ 110. *e* followed by the nasals *n*, *ŋ* and the combination *nž*.

1. *e* + *n*: *bend* to bend, *blend* to blend, *den den*, *drenš* to drench, *en hen*, *end end*, *men men*, *pen* to pen, *send* to send, *spend* to spend, *twenti* twenty, *wenš* wench, *went* pret. went.

2. A following original *ŋ* (now *ŋ* or *nž*) has exercised its palatalizing influence on the preceding *e*, which has been raised into *i*, just as *a* has become *e* by a similar influence (cf. *W. H. Dial. Gr.*, §§ 59, 76, and also Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, § 109).

Examples: *inlænd* England, *inliš* English, *inž* hinge, *krinž* to cringe, *linžer* to linger (frequentative formation from ME. *lengen* to tarry or linger), *miŋl* to mingle (frequentative from OE. *mengan*, ME. *mengen*). In *swinž* to singe, a parasitic *w* has been introduced (OE. *sengan*, ME. *sengen*). *striŋ* string, *pink* to think.

§ 111. A following *l* also seems to have exercised a palatalizing influence on the preceding vowel. Morsbach (p. 144) quotes several instances of this raising through a following *l*-sound; thus in the Lorton dialect:

wīlə willow (OE. *welig*).

šīl to shell (for instance, peas); we find ME. *i*-forms of this word in Prompt. Parv., p. 446 (*schillin*).

NOTE. In the words *wiŋ* wing, *iŋ* to hang, *fiŋ* to fling, throw, the *i* has probably arisen from an original Scand. *e* through *i*-muta-

¹ Cf. p. 72, footnote.

tion (cf. App.). *diŋ*, mostly used in the combination to *diŋ up* to snub, reproach, has been shown by Björkman (*Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 207) to derive its origin from an O. Teut. *dingwan*, O. Dan. *dinge*, ME. *ding*, and probably not from O. W. Scand. *dengja*.

§ 112. A similar palatalizing influence seems to have been exercised in several ME. dialects by nearly all the dentals, dental nasals, and palatals (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 109). We find traces of this palatalization also in the Lorton dialect: *e > i* through a following *nš* in *binš* bench, and a following *tš* in *stritš* vb. to stretch; before a following *s* in *rist* vb. to rest (ME. *rysten*; cf. Morsbach, p. 144 *b*), *jistəðə* yesterday (ME. *gistirdai*, Wycl. John, iv. 52).

Palatalizing influence has also manifested itself in *jit yet*, *siks six* (cf. Bülbring, *AE. Elem.-Buch*, §§ 211, 319, Anm.).

§ 113. W. Germanic *er*—OE. *eor* (*ior*, *er*) + *cons.* = ME. *er*, *ar* + *cons.* has become Lorton *ār* (on the qualitative varieties of the *r*, according to the character of the following consonant, cf. §§ 278 ff.).

Examples: *āt* heart, *ārþ* hearth, *bārċ* to bark, *bārm* barm (usually called *jist*), *bārn* barn (OE. *bern*, ME. *berne*), *dārċ* dark, *dwārċ* dwarf, *fār* far, *jāð* (or *jārd*) yard (measure), *kārċ* vb. to carve, *smāt* smart, *stār* star, *stārċ* to starve, *wārċ* sb. work (but cf. below, the verb *wūrċ*).

NOTE. We find *u*- instead of *ā*-forms in: *urnist* earnest, *burn* to burn, *wūrċ* to work (but cf. above, § 113, *wārċ* sb. < OE. *weorc*, ME. *werk*), *wūrþ* worth, all of which point to ME. forms containing *y*, *i*, or *u*; I have not found any such ME. (North) forms of *earnest*. In *burn*, *wūrċ*, and *wūrþ* the bilabial has probably caused the vowel to be rounded (cf. ME. Northern *wirken* and *wurþ* in Ormulum, 1156, 1141).

§ 114. OE. (Anglian) *eht* (WS. *coht*) = ME. *iht*, *ight* has become through loss of *h* and compensation lengthening: *brīt* bright, *lit* light, *rīt* right, *strīt* straight.

NOTE. The word *feit* to fight, should be looked upon as a dialect loan.

§ 115. OE. *eg* = ME. *ei* has had the same development in the Lorton dialect as ME. *ai* from OE. *æg* (cf. above, § 98) into *āē*: *āēl* to ail, *blāēn* blain, *əwāē* away, *lāēd* laid, *lāēn* lain, *plāē* to play (mostly *lāēk*; cf. App.), *rāēn* rain, *sāēl* sail, *wāē* way, *sāē* to say (from OE. *secgan*, ME. *seien*).

NOTE. We find the ME. diphthong still preserved in *wei* to weigh; this word should, however, be looked upon as a loan.

§ 116. In the following words, where the originally short stem-vowel is followed by a single consonant and *l*, *n*, *r*, or *y* (*ig*)-suffix, *e* has had the same development as in closed syllables, the Lorton dialect having generalized the regularly short stem-vowel arising from the oblique cases :

betər better, *ebm* even, *evi* heavy, *evn* heaven, *feðər* feather, *leðər* leather, *peni* penny, *sebm* seven, *weðər* whether, *weðər* weather.

§ 117. *er*, when not followed by another consonant, has become *īər* in the Lorton dialect: *bīər* to bear, *mīər* mare, *pīər* pear, *šīər* to shear, *swīər* to swear, *spīər* spear, *tīər* to tear, *wīər* to wear.

NOTE. This final *er* has become *ār* in two words, *tār* tar, and *skār* to scare. The *ār* in *tār* from ME. *a*-form *tarre* (P. Plowman c. x. 262), *skār* from ME. forms like *skerren* vb., *skerre* adj. timid, or it may come from a Scandinavian source ; Icel., ON. *skjarr* shy, timid, would regularly give Lorton *skār* just as ON. *kjarr* has given *kār* (cf. Wall, on the Scandinavian element in the English dialects in *Anglia*, xx, § 66 ; cf. also App.). Note that the usual Cumberland word of this sense is *flæ* from ON. *fleya* to frighten (see App.).

§ 118. OE. short *e* in open syllables has become Lorton *eī*. This sound forms the intermediate stage between the long pure *ī*-sound found in other parts of Cumberland and by Hirst in Kendal (§ 15), and the *ei*-diphthong as found in the south of Cumberland and in Yorkshire (Wright, *W. H. Gr.*, § 87). The quantity of the *e*-element forms about one-third of the whole diphthong.

Examples: *beīd* bead, *breītš* breach, (e)īt to eat, *feīvər* fever, *meīl* meal, *meīt* meat, *neīd* to knead, *speīk* to speak, *steīl* to steal, *treīd* to tread, *weīn* to wean (rarely used, mostly *spián*), *weīv* to weave.

NOTE I. We usually find short *e* in *fret* to fret ; but there still exists in Cumberland a form *frit*, although rarely heard in Lorton. This *i*-form may be a late shortening of a previous form *frit* with regularly lengthened stem-vowel ; or else a result of the common ME. transition of *e* into *i* before a following dental (cf. above, § 112, and Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, § 109).

We also find short *e* in *brek* to break, and the pp. *etn* eaten.

NOTE II. The *a* in *rakn* to reckon, occurs in several other dialects (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*) of the North and is found in Scotch dialect records (cf. N.E.D., *reckon*). This *a* may be due to influence

from the preceding **r**, in which case **rakn** must be looked upon as a loan in the Lorton dialect.

rakn might also be an unrecorded OE. verb, with the stem-vowel **a**, the same as in OE. *racu* account.

i

§ 119. OE. **i** (= ME. **i**) has generally remained, but the vowel has undergone influence from neighbouring sounds in the following cases:

I. Lengthening before a following **ld** (§ 124).

II. Transition into **ū** before a following **r** + *cons.* (§ 125).

III. Transition into **u** in a few cases through influence from a preceding **w** (§ 121, note).

IV. The special development of ME. **iht** and of OE. medial **-ig-** into **ī** (§§ 126, 127).

§ 120. Examples of OE. **i** (= ME. **i**), apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

bid to invite (to a funeral or wedding), **bin** bin, **bit** bit, **bitər** bitter, **bitn** pp. bitten, **brɪŋ** to bring, **bitʃ** bitch, **bil** bill, **diðər** to tremble, quiver (imitative origin, cf. N.E.D. sub. *didder*), **dim** dim, **diʃ** dish, **dlisn**¹ to glisten, **dlitər**¹ to glitter, **drift** drift, **drivn** pp. driven, **drɪŋk** to drink, **ðis** this, **fɪdl** fiddle, **fɪn** fin, **fɪʃ** fish, **fɪk** flitch, **fɪkər** to flicker, **grim** grim, **grip** grip, **if** if (OE. *gif*, rare Angl. *gef*), **im** (acc. form) him, **inðər** to hinder, **in** in, **it** it, **iz** his, **kiŋkɒf** (> ME. *kinken* to cough, pant) whooping-cough, **krisp** crisp, **lid** lid, **lip** lip, **miks** to mix, **mint** mint, **mizltō** mistletoe, **mist** mist, **pɪg** pig, **pɪp** pith, **sɪŋk** to sink, **sit** to sit, **sliŋk** to slink, **stiŋk** to stink, **spit** to spit, **stɪtʃ** stitch, **smidi** smithy, **ʃift** chemise (although probably of OE. origin the sense of this word seems to have been influenced by the corresponding Scandinavian word: cf. OE. *sciftan* to divide, and Icel., ON. *skipta*, Swed. *skifta* to divide, but also to change, to shift; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 126); **ʃilin** shilling, **tɪk** (insect) tick, **tiŋklər** tinker (l introduced through association with the frequentative verb *tinkle*; Skeat has found this word in Tudor English—Levins, *tinkler*), **tiŋ** to cling.

NOTE I. For literary English *much* the Lorton dialect uses the two forms **mutʃ** and **mitʃ**, the last-mentioned form especially used by old people. **mɪkl** is also occasionally heard and mostly in the sense of *big*; but it seems to be a Scotch loan and is looked upon as such by the Cumbrian natives of our district.

¹ OE. *glitsnian*, *glisian*, *glitian*, *glitnian*.

NOTE II. The Lorton form of the standard English pronoun *I* (OE. *ic*, ME. *ic*, *ich*) is *ǣ*. We find similar forms of this pronoun in most of the North English dialects, such as *ǣ*, *ā*, *ō* (cf. N. E. D. sub *I*); these forms have arisen from the diphthongal form *ai* by dropping the second element of the diphthong, the first being retained and lengthened into *ā*; cf. a similar case in *lāl* little (§ 190, note II).

We find typical instances of this monophthongization in the Adlington dialect, where ME. *i* after the diphthongization has been monophthongized into *ā* through the intermediate stage of *aə* (see A. Hargreaves, *A Gram. of the Adlington Dialect*, § 39).

§ 121. *A preceding w* has generally exercised no influence on the following *i*, except in the four words quoted below (cf. note).

Examples: *wisp* *wisp* (ME. *wispe*, *wips*), *witš* *witch*, *widə* *widow*, *win* to *win*, *wid* (also *wi*, mostly before words beginning with a consonant) *with*, *wintər* *winter*, *wiŋk* to *wink*, *wit* sb. *wit*, *witnəs* *witness*, *twig* *twig*, *twin* *twin*, *twist* to *twist*, *wizn* to *wizen*, to become dry, *widər* to *wither*, *swil* to *rinse*, to throw water on, *swil* *basket* (for instance, *tliás-swil* *clothes-basket*) (perhaps connected with OE. *swilian*, ME. *swilen* to wash, rinse).

NOTE. *i* has been changed into *u* by a preceding *w* in the following words:

wusl to *whistle*, *wuspər* to *whisper*, *swum* to *swim*, *wul* vb. *will*.

This influence from the preceding bilabial consonant has manifested itself in several English dialects. As for *wul*, we find frequent instances of this form in Middle English, and the change of *i* into *u* in this word has especially been facilitated by the fact that it is mostly used in unstressed positions (see further Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 69 and index).

§ 122. It should be especially noticed that the general lengthening power of the nasal combinations *nd* and *mb* has not manifested itself in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *i + nd*: *bi(h)int* *behind* (*ə(h)int* also often used in the same sense), *bind* to *bind*, *blind* *blind*, *find* to *find*, *wind* to *wind*, *wind* sb. *wind* (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 58, Anm. 4).

NOTE I. This short *i* before *nd* is found in several dialects of the North; Ellis, i, p. 277 (*E. E. Pron.*) quotes the words *bind*, *blind*, *behind*, *hinder*, *hindmost*, *find*, *grind*, *wind* as being pronounced with short *i* in South Shields, Kendal (Westmorel.), Cumberland, and parts of Lancashire; we find the same short *i* also in Yorkshire (cf. Wright, *W. H. D. Gr.*, p. 37).

NOTE II. We find a *u* in *grund* to *grind*, and *grunstn* *grindstone*; the stem-vowel may have been introduced through

analogical influence from the preterite and past participle (influence from the *r* may also have been at work ; cf. Hirst, *Kendal Dialect*, p. 7, § 8).

§ 123. *i* before a following *mb* is short in *tlīm* to climb.

§ 124. *i* before a following *ld* has undergone lengthening and diphthongization : *waīld* wild, *maīld* mild, *tšaīld* child (this word is very seldom used in sing., the usual word being *bārn* (cf. App.), but often heard in the plural form *tšildær* with short stem-vowel owing to the following *r* (from late OE. *cildru*, *cildra*, ME. *childre*, *childer*)).

§ 125. *i* followed by *r* + cons. has become *ȳ* or *ū* (lengthened before a following *r* + *d*).

Examples : *būȳ* (or *būȳd*) bird, *būȳk* birch, *pūȳ* (or *pūȳd*) third, *kūȳk* church, *wūȳl* whirl (possibly Scand. ; cf. Icel., Swed. *hvirfla* to whirl round), *tšūȳp* to chirp (ME. *chirpen*).

NOTE. The pronunciation *pūȳti* (*pūȳti*), no doubt the original one, is now heard in our district only from old people ; it has been replaced by the more modern pronunciation : *pōti*.

§ 126. The OE. combination *iht* (=ME. *iht*, *ight*) has become Lorton *ī* through loss of *h* and compensation lengthening :

dīt to winnow or dress corn, to wipe, make clean (< OE. *dihtan* to set in order, to arrange), *sīt* (OE. *gesihþ*) sight.

NOTE. In *weit* weight (OE. (*ge*)*wiht*) the *ei*-diphthong has been introduced from the verb *wei* (§ 115, note).

§ 127. Medial OE. *ig* has become *ī* in *stīl* (OE. *stigel*, ME. *stile*) stile : *ai* in *nain* nine, *tail* tile (these two words are perhaps loans from standard English).

NOTE. *lig* to lie, and trans. to lay (down), is the usual dialect form of the North, and represents the OE. inf., 1st pers. sing. and the plur. of pres. ind. and imperative (or it may represent Scand. forms, cf. ON. *liggia*, Swed. *ligga*), whereas the standard English form *lie* derives its origin from the 2nd and 3rd pers. pres. ind. sing. and sing. imperative (cf. N.E.D. *lie* ; Bülbring, *Altengl. Elem.-Buch*, § 499).

§ 128. The stem-vowel of the words *līv* to live, *bītl* beetle, and *wīk* week (OE. *lifian*, *libban* ; *bitela*, *bitula* ; *wicu*, *wice*, respectively) points back to ME. forms with *ē* ; cf. Morsb., ME. *Gram.*, § 65 *a* ; Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, §§ 79, 80).

§ 129. Original *iw* has become *iȳ* (§ 88) through vocalization of the *w*. The diphthong arisen through this vocalization was or became a rising one ; its second element was probably lengthened

into *ū* and then underwent the usual diphthongization of *ū* (§ 186), or the *ȳ* may merely be a glide, arisen on account of the slowness of the Cumbrian enunciation (cf. the similar development of OE. *ēow*, § 204).

Example: *tliqu* (from OE. *cliwe*) clue, ball.

O

§ 130. OE. *o* (ME. *o*) in originally closed syllables has generally become Lorton *o* (§ 131), but neighbouring sounds have influenced the vowel in the following cases:

I. A following *l + cons.* has caused diphthongization of the preceding vowel into *au* (§ 134) or *ou* (§ 134, note II).

II. A following *r + cons.* has caused the vowel to be lengthened, and the *ō* then has had the same development as *ö* in open syllables (§ 138) into *wō*.

III. The special development of the groups *oxt* and OE. medial *og* (= ME. *ou*) into *au* (§ 132).

§ 131. Examples of *o* in originally closed syllables when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds:

bodm bottom, *boks* box, *borə* to borrow, *blob* to fish for eels with the hand (imitative origin), *dof* (contraction of *do* vb. + *off*) to take off, *don* (*do* + *on*) to put on, *dog* dog, *dokin* (< *dock* sb., prob. of Dutch origin + the formative *ing*-suffix; cf. *lonin* lane), *drop* drop, *džogl* (frequentative of the ME. verb *joggen* to shake) to joggle, shake, *flok* flock, *foks* fox, *folə* to follow, *frog* frog, *god* God, *kok* cock, *kopər* copper, *kot* cot, *lopstər* (< OE. *loppestre*) lobster, *lot* lot, *mos* moss, *moɸ* moth, *nok* to knock, *ofn* often, *op* to hop, *otər* otter, *post* post (note that there has been no lengthening of the *ö* before *st*), *snot* (< OE. *gesnot*) mucus from the nose, also a contemptible term, used of a man: an insignificant fellow, *sorə* sorrow, *stop* to stop, *tlokər* a broody hen (imitative origin), *tlok* (of obscure origin) black-beetle.

NOTE I. We find long stem-vowel in *brōp* broth, which should be looked upon as a loan.

NOTE II. *strap* strap, is probably not the original word but introduced from standard English. The usual dialect form is *strop* (from ME. *strope*, OE. *stropp*).

NOTE III. We find *ù* instead of *o* in *flùtər* to flutter (from OE. *flotorian*, ME. *floteren*). This *ù* must have been introduced through analogical influence about 1600; I have not found any *u*-forms of the verb earlier than 1591 (cf. N. E. D., *flutter*, 2), but after 1600 there are *u*-forms in nearly all records. This might be ex-

plained by assuming influence from the verb *to flit* (from ON. *flytja*). These two verbs were originally akin to each other, representing the weak-grade stems **flot-* and **flut-* respectively of an O. Teut. stem **fleut-* (in OE. *flēotan* to fleet), and have developed secondary senses of a very similar nature; it is certain that a partial confusion between these two verbs has taken place as shown by the verbs *flit* (senses 7 and 8, N.E.D.), *flutter* (senses 2 and 3, N.E.D.); cf. also *flitter*, frequentative of *flit* vb., with exactly the same sense as *flutter* (2). This confusion of senses has then been accompanied by a confusion of forms, and the *u* in *flutter* was introduced from the ME. *u*-forms of *flit*, occurring already in Orm. (cf. N.E.D. *flit* vb.). That this ON. *y* when arisen through *i*-mutation of *u* (< **flut-jan*, cf. above) sometimes gives *u* in English dialects of the North is proved by the forms *muk* from ON. *myki* (Wall in *Anglia*, ix, p. 76, § 48. 5) dirt, dung, *prüst* thrust < ON. *þrysta*.¹

§ 132. The OE. combination *oht* has given *aut* (through a similar process to *ol* + *cons.* > *ou*; cf. § 134). The first element of this diphthong is a slightly retracted *a*, bordering on *ɔ*.

Examples: *baut* pret. and pp. bought, *dautər* daughter, *faut* pp. fought, *raut* pret. and pp. wrought.

§ 133. OE. *oɜ* (medial) has given ME. *ou* through vocalization of the guttural spirant; the first element of the diphthong then was widened into *a*.

Examples: *bau* (OE. *boga*) bow, *flau(w)ən* (OE. pp. *flōgen*) flown.

§ 134. The combination *ol*, when followed by a consonant, has given *au* in the Lorton dialect through vocalization of the *l*, retention of the parasitic *u*-glide, and widening of the first element of the diphthong into *a* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, p. 266, and above, § 96, *al* + *cons.*; cf. also § 274 on the vocalization of *l*).

Examples: *baustər* bolster, *kaut* colt, *baut* bolt; cf. *maudi-wārp* mole (perhaps Scand., from ON. *moldvarpa*; but see N.E.D.); cf. also *pauni* pony (from O. Fr. *poulenet* a small colt).

NOTE I. *l* has also been dropped in *sud* should, *wad* would. This *a* in *wad* should be explained from the *a*-forms occurring in ME. such as *walde*, *Laž*. 358, 18911; Horn, i. 5; Pricke' Consc. 4395 and other instances (cf. Stratmann).

NOTE II. We find *ou* in two words, *gould* gold, and *toul* toll; the first element of this diphthong is a very open *ɔ*, difficult to distinguish from *a*. These two words should be looked upon as loans from standard English; the original dialect form probably was *gaud* (cf. above), and I have heard the form *goud* (in compounds like *goudwatš*), which form has arisen through a compromise between *gould* and *gaud*.

¹ See further Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, pp. 210, 224, 250.

§ 135. *o* in the combination *or*, when followed by a consonant, has undergone lengthening, except in a few cases mentioned below, and this lengthened *ō*, as well as *o* in originally open syllables, has developed into a peculiar diphthongal sound *wō* (cf. § 138). This peculiar development of the lengthened *ō*-sound seems to be analogous with the O. High Germ. change of *ō* into *uo*, a process which extended from the middle of the eighth century up to about 900; this diphthong is still preserved in several German dialects, especially the Bavarian. In the last-mentioned dialect the second element of the diphthong bears the stress, that is to say, we here find a sound of a very similar nature to our Lorton *wō*-diphthong, which has probably arisen through a similar process. It is not easy to ascertain the intermediate stages of this process in our dialect, nor have we any accurate knowledge in this respect regarding the Old High German *ō*—*uo*-change, but the diphthong has most likely arisen through rounding and raising of the tongue at the first part of the vowel, the first stages of the diphthongization then being *oq*, *uo* and then, when the stress was transferred to the second element of the diphthong, the first one assumed a consonantic character (*u* > *w*). This bilabial element is something like Luick's 'Vorschlags-*w*', of which we find several instances in ME. and early NE. words like *won*, *word*, *wother*, *whole*, *whore*, *whome*. The whole process was probably facilitated, or even partly caused, by the peculiar slowness of enunciation which was one of the chief characteristics of the Cumbrian dialect. This particular kind of diphthongization has been treated by Luick (*Untersuchungen zur engl. Lautgeschichte*, §§ 85, 86) and Horn (*Untersuchungen zur neuenglischen Lautgeschichte*, p. 44); cf. also *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* by O. Behaghel in Paul's *Grundriss* (§ 52).

§ 136. *or* + *cons.* > *wō*; the first element of this diphthong varies between a tense *u* and a somewhat relaxed *w*. The quantity of the second element varies slightly, but is generally medium, sometimes full length.

Examples: *bwōd* board, *əfwōd* to afford, *fwork* vb. to fork (for instance, hay), *kworn* corn, *mwornin* morning, *pworn* (now rarely heard except from old people) thorn, *šworn* pp. shorn, *šwōt* short, *wōtšed* orchard.

NOTE I. In one case the *wo*-sound evidently serves to mark the distinction between the noun and the denominative verb:

förk sb. fork, but **fwork** vb. (cf. above) to fork; the noun may, however, be a loan from neighbouring dialects.

NOTE II. We find **ō** instead of **wo** in the words **orn** horn, **oſ** horse, **stōrm** storm, **fōd** ford, **nōrþ** north. Most of these words, however, are found with a regularly developed **wo**-sound in neighbouring varieties of the Cumbrian dialect, and they should therefore be looked upon as loans from neighbouring dialects or standard English.

§ 137. We find **u** instead of **o**-forms in a few cases:

wūd word, **wūrd** world, **smūdər** vb. to smother (from OE. vb. *smorian* to choke, stifle, ME. *smother* sb. that which stifles, thick smoke, formed with the *ther*-suffix of the agent, hence the ME. verb *smorthren*, which has given, through loss of **r**, NE. *smother*; cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*).

Morsbach (*ME. Gram.*, § 120, Anm. I. 3) ascribes this transition of **o** into **u** to the influence of the preceding bilabial consonant, which has given rise to similar **u**-forms already in ME.

The form **ūd** vb. to hoard (up), also points back to an earlier **u**-form; these **u**-forms of *hoard* seem to occur only in the Northern and Scotch dialects (cf. N.E.D. *hoard*, vb.); the word may be an instance of the spontaneous transition **ō** > **ū** in ME. (Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 142), but the **u** may also be ascribed to association with words of a kindred meaning such as Anglo-French *hurdice*, ME. *hurdice* palisade, fence, or *hurdle*, from OE. *hyrdel* of a somewhat similar sense; cf. also ON. *hurð* door.

It is also quite probable that association with the verb *herd* (Lorton **ūd**) has been at work; some of the senses of this word seem to support this theory (cf. N.E.D. *herd*, vb. 1, sense 4, to amass; *herd*, vb. 2, to take care of or tend, to keep safe, to shelter, harbour).

§ 138. **o** in originally open syllables has been lengthened and generally become **wō** (cf. § 135).

Examples: **bworn** pp. born, **fwol** foal, **gwot** channel, mill-stream (< ME. *gote*, now used only in place-names; for instance, **gwot mil** Gote mill, near Cockermouth), **kwol** coal, **nwoz** nose, **rwoz** rose, **swol** (from OE. *sole*) sole, **prwot** throat, **tšwozn** pp. chosen, **wol** hole, **wop** to hope.

NOTE. In **əfúər** before, the stress has returned to the first element of the diphthong and the second one has been worn down into **ə**.

§ 139. We find the short stem-vowel **ō** in the following cases:

(a) Words containing en-suffixes generally kept their short stem-vowel:

opn to open (individually pronounced **opm**), **brokn** pp. broken, **spokn** pp. spoken, **frozn** pp. frozen. Also in **wuvn** pp. woven, the short stem-vowel remained, but **o** became **u** owing to the influence of the surrounding labials **w—v**.

(b) The following four words also kept their short stem-vowel:

bodi body (the **ig**-suffix has often served to preserve the short stem-vowel; cf. § 116), **oli** holly (cf. the compound **olin-buš**, where we find the OE. ending partly preserved (OE. *holegn*)), **lonin** lane (from the OE., ME. *ð*-form *lone* + *ing*-suffix, the same as in **dokin**; cf. § 131); **los** vb. to lose, has kept its originally short stem-vowel from ME. *losien* (cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; Stratmann, p. 405); influence from the short stem-vowel of the corresponding noun OE. *los*, modern Engl. *loss*, may also be assumed.

NOTE I. We find **ũ** instead of **o** in the following words: **pupi** poppy (OE. *popig*, ME. *popi*), **wuvn** pp. woven (see above, § 139 a); the **u** in these two words is evidently due to the influence of the surrounding labials (see Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 120, Anm. I. 3). Also two words with long stem-vowel: **stuup** (gate-) post (ME. *stulpe* < ON. *stolpi*)¹, arisen through vocalization of **l** and compensation lengthening; **syul** shovel (OE. *scofl*); this **ũ** has probably been introduced from the OE. vb. *scūfan* to shove, push. The **iu**-diphthong in **jubm** oven, points back to an **ō** (see Morsbach, § 119).

NOTE II. In **au(w)ər** prep. over, the original dento-labial has become bilabial and then vocalized; the first element of the diphthong **ou**, arisen in this way, has been widened into **a**.

In **stau(w)ən** pp. stolen, we find another instance of vocalization, although the vocalized consonant here is an **l** (cf. § 274 on vocalization of **l**).

u

§ 140. OE. **u** (= ME. **u**) has generally become Lorton **u** or **ũ**, except in a few cases mentioned below (§§ 141, 142, notes I, II). It has been a difficult task to make a satisfactory distinction between these two sounds, the difference being very slight, and in some cases hardly appreciable. **u** is the *high-back-wide-round* of standard English (in *bull*, *pull*), **ũ** represents the first stage of the transition of the first-mentioned **u** into the *mid-back-narrow* of standard English (in *but*, *cup*); this **u**-sound is pronounced with the tongue slightly lowered towards the mid-back position, and with a slight widening of the lip-opening (unrounding). It is a sound midway

¹ Perhaps not a Scand. loan-word; cf. Appendix sub **stuup**.

between the *ü* in Swedish *skutta*, *butter*, and the *u* in English *put*. It is not easy to draw an exact line between the two sounds as far as their occurrence is concerned, but I have been able to make the following observations:

I. *u* always occurs: (a) Before, after, or between the bilabials *w*, *b*, *m*, *p*, and the dento-labials *v*, *f*.

(b) Before the nasals *ŋ*, *m*, and *n* (before *n*, however, there is a tendency towards *ü*).

(c) Before the gutturals *g* and *k*.

(d) As a rule also before a following *l*.

II. *ü* occurs mostly before a following dental (*d*, *t*, *s*), or between dentals.

§ 141. OE. *u* (ME. *u*) has been influenced by neighbouring sounds in the following cases:

I. It has become *ü* before a following *r* + *cons.* (§ 144).

II. It has become *ü* through lengthening before *nd* in two cases, and through vocalization of a following *l* in three cases (§§ 142, notes I, II, 146).

III. The special development of medial OE. *u* (§ 145).

§ 142. Examples of *u* (cf. above, § 140):

I. Bilabial influence in *bul*¹ bull (ME. *bule*, Orm. 990), *bulæk* bullock (OE. *bulluc*), *butær* butter, *buk* buck, *stubi* thick-set, short and thick (OE. *stybb*, *stubb*, ME. *stubbe* stump of a tree; cf. Morsb., ME. Gram., § 133, Anm. 2), *dub* pool (of uncertain origin), *pus* puss (a cat, probably of imitative origin; the word occurs in Swed. dialect *pus*, Irish and Gael. *pus*, Low Germ. *puus*, *puuskatte* (Skeat)), *wud* wood, *wulin* woollen, *tub* tub (from ME. *tubbe*), *musl* muscle, *kup* cup.

II. Dento-labial and *l*-influence: *ful* full, *fulær* fuller, *luv* love, *skul* skull (ME. *sculle*, *skulle*, probably Scandinavian²).

III. Influence of a following guttural: *pluk* pluck, *tug* to tug (ME. *tuggen*, perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*), *ug* to hug, to take hold of, to carry, convey (of obscure origin; cf. N.E.D.).

IV. *u* + *nasal*; (a) bilabial nasal: *dum* dumb, *kum* to come, *krum* crumb, *num* numb, *sum* some, *sumær* summer, *sumæt* somewhat, something, *tuml* to fall, tumble.

(b) *u* + *ŋ*: *tun* tongue, *unær* hunger, and the past participles *slun* slung, *sprun* sprung, *stun* stung, *sun* sunk, *sun* sung, *swun* swung, *šrun* shrunk, *tlun* clung.

¹ Probably a Scand. loan; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 205.

² See Björkman, p. 133.

(c) *u* + *n* (this *u* often shows a tendency to become *ū*): *run* to *run*, *sun* *son*, *sun* *sun*, *undræd* hundred, *sundæ* Sunday, *undær* under, *wundær* wonder, *grunt* to *grunt* (OE. *grunnettan*), *spun* pp. *spun*, *šun* to *shun*, *wun* pp. *won*, *uni* honey, *tun* *tun*, barrel.

u before *nd* has generally remained short except in two cases (cf. note I).

Here belong several past participles of the strong *nd*-verbs; they all contain *u* (< ME. *ū*): *bund* bound, *fund* found, *grund* ground, *wund* wound, also *pund* pound.

NOTE I. *nd* has caused *u* to be lengthened into *ū*, which was afterwards diphthongized into *yu* in the words *syund* (OE. *gesund*) sound, and *yund* (OE. *hund*) hound.

NOTE II. In the words *pyu* to pull (also short *pu*) and *wyu* wool, a final *l* has been vocalized, and *u* has become *ū*—*yu* through compensation lengthening.

NOTE III. Lorton *put* to put, seems to be regularly developed from the (late) OE. vb. *putian*, but the preterite *pot* probably derives its origin from the OE. variant *potian*. There are *o*-forms with long and short stem-vowel (*pote*, *pot*) occurring promiscuously both in ME. and the modern English dialects, the long forms coming from the regular lengthening of *o* in open syllables, the short ones from the preterite.

§ 143. We find *ū* through dental influence in: *nūt* nut, *rūdi* (OE. *rudig*) ruddy, *stūtær* to stutter (cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*), *šūḍær* to shudder (from ME. *schuderen*), *tūstær* to cluster, *tūsk* tusk.

§ 144. *u* when followed by an *r* + *cons.* has become *ū*: *dušt* (2nd pers. pres. ind.) *durst*, *fūr* furrow, *kūḍz*¹ curds, *kūš* to curse, *murn* to mourn, *snurtæn* (ME. *smurtin*, Prompt. Parv. 462) snorting, only occurring in the combination *snurtæn æn lafæn* snorting and laughing, *turf* turf.

§ 145. *u* in OE. medial *uz* has become *yu* through vocalization of the *z*, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the *ū* in *fūul* (OE. *fugol*) fowl.

The form *siū* sow, points back to an original *ō*-form, *iū* being the regular development of original closed *ō* in our dialect. This is our only instance of the transition *ū* > *ō* in open syllables of which Luick quotes several instances in his *Untersuchungen* (§ 392).

§ 146. *u* has become *yu* through vocalization of the *l* (cf. § 274) and the usual diphthongization of *ū* into *yu* (§ 186) in *šundær* shoulder (OE. *sculdor*).

¹ *krūdz* is perhaps more used than *kūḍz*; origin obscure. See further N.E.D. sub *curd*.

y

§ 147. OE. *y*, arisen through *i*-mutation of *u*, is usually represented by *i* in the Lorton dialect, except in the following cases, where influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work :

I. *y* has become *ȳ* when followed by *r* + *cons.* (§ 150).

II. The special development of the OE. combination *yht* into Lorton *ī* (§ 152).

III. *y* has become *ū*, *u* owing to various causes (cf. below, §§ 149, 150, note I).

IV. *y* has been lengthened and diphthongized into *ai* before a following *nd* (§ 151).

There are no instances of OE. *y* having been lengthened in originally open syllables (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, §§ 64, 130).

§ 148. Examples of OE. *y* when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds :

bizi busy (usually *praŋ* ; cf. § 93), *brig* bridge, *didl* to dodge, to take in, to confuse (the word seems to be related to or even identical with the OE. verb *dydrian* to delude, to cheat, the formative *l* and *r*-suffixes being interchangeable. Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*) quotes several words containing the stem-vowel *u* in other languages: E. Fries. *dudjen*, *bedudjen* to overreach ; *dudden* to be stupid, to doze, dream ; Norw. *dudda*, to hush to sleep), *dizi* dizzy, *kis* to kiss, *lisn* to listen, *midž* midge, *mitš* much, *nit* to knit, *pit* pit, *rig* ridge, *dip* vb. to dip (OE. *dyppan*, *dippan*, from a Teut. vb. **duppan*), *kripl* cripple (ME. *crupel*, *cripel*, probably from a weak-grade form **crup* of the verb *creopan* + *ilo*-suffix), *kitšin* kitchen, *ip* hip, *kyuslip* (OE. *cūslippe*) cowslip, *kil* kiln, *il* hill, *mil* mill, *sil* sill, *pilə* pillow, *bild* to build, *gild* to gild (no trace of lengthening before *ld*).

sin sin, *kin* king, *kin* kin, *kinl* to bring forth, also used as a noun in the expression *to be in kinl* = to be pregnant (said of animals, especially rabbits), *kindm* (from OE. *cynedōm*) kingdom, *din* din, *pin* thin, *inš* inch, *trim* trim, *stint* to stint, to keep something from you, not to give you enough, to put cattle out to graze in an allotment, called 'stint' (cf. OE. adj. *stunt* dull, O. Swed. *stunt* to cut short, OE. vb. *forstyntan* to make dull, ME. *stinten*).¹

NOTE. For standard English *much* we find both *mitš* and *mutš* in the Lorton dialect ; *mitš* is occasionally used by old

¹ This word is, however, probably of Scand. origin ; cf. Appendix sub *stint*.

people, having been superseded by *mutš*, which should be looked upon as a loan.

§ 149. We find *ù* or *u* instead of *i* in some words. This *ù* must be explained from old English forms which have not undergone *i*-mutation existing beside the *y*-forms, or in some cases from analogical influence (cf. Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, p. 169, Anm. 4).

Such forms are: *blùš* to blush (ME. *bluschen*, *bloschen*, and *blischen* (rare)); Morsbach explains this *u*-form from an unrecorded OE. **bluscian* besides the usual *blyscan*, *bliscan*.

ful to fill; we find corresponding ME. and OE. double forms: OE. *fullian*, late OE. *gefullan* (Rule of St. Benet, 81/4), besides OE. *fyllan*; ME. *fullen* (Havel. 354/5), and several other instances (cf. Stratmann, *ME. Dict.*), besides the usual *fillen*.

šüt to shut, should be explained in a similar way (Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, § 129, Anm. 4 c).

šrub shrub (OE. *scrybbe*); we find ME. *u*-forms—*schrub*, and with an *o*—*schrob* (Skeat). The labial may have exercised some influence on the preceding vowel, or the word may have been influenced by the corresponding Scandinavian word, represented by Norw. *skrubba* the dwarf cornel (Aasen, Skeat); Dan. dial. *skrub* brushwood.

krütš crutch (from OE. *cryoc*) has, according to Morsbach's opinion, been influenced by Anglo-Norman *crouche*, *cruche*.

The *u* in *brumstn* brimstone is due to the influence of the preceding *r* (cf. § 122, note II) and the following bilabial.

§ 150. OE. *y*, when followed by *r* + *cons.*, has become *ŷ* (in a few cases *ù*; cf. note I) in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *būđin* burden, *tšurn* (old people occasionally say *kurn*) churn, *furst* first, *murp* mirth, *murdər* (or *mūđər*) to murder (OE. *myrđrian*), *ūđl* hurdle, *gūđl* girdle, *kurnl* kernel, *tūđz* (or *turdz*, from OE. plural noun *tyrdlu*, ME. *tyrdyl* 'schepys donge', Prompt. Parv. 494; cf. Bosworth-Toller) the droppings of sheep.

NOTE I. In the words *wurm* worm, *würk* vb. to work, *wuri* to worry, the preceding *w* has exercised its labializing influence on the following vowel; this influence had been at work already in late West Saxon (Bülbring, *Altengl. Elem.-Buch*, § 280).

NOTE II. In the words *beri* to bury, and *meri* merry, the *e* is probably due to the influence of the following *r* (Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, § 129, Anm. 2), but I look upon these *e*-forms as loans in our dialect, especially as old people still may be heard to use the old form *muri*; thus always in the combination *muri nīt*, a

special kind of Cumbrian festivity (cf. J. Andersson, *A Blackel murri-neet*).

§ 151. OE. *ȳ* when followed by *nd* has been lengthened and diphthongized into *ai*: *kaind* (OE. *gecynde*) kind, *maind* sb. mind, *maind* vb. to remember, recollect.

§ 152. The OE. combination *yht* has had the same development as the combination *iht* (cf. § 126) into Lorton *ī*: *flit* flight, *frīt* fright, *rīt* wright.

2. LONG VOWELS

ā

§ 153. OE. *ā*, when not influenced by neighbouring sounds, has had the same development as OE. *ǣ* in originally open syllables into *ia*, *iā* (on the development of this diphthong from OE. *ā* cf. § 101). This *ia*-diphthong becomes *ja*, when initial.

In a final position we find *iā* with stress on the first element. After a preceding *l* or *r* the first element (*i*) is somewhat lowered towards *e*.

Influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work in the following cases:

I. A following *r* in the OE. combination *ār* has prevented the diphthongization into *ia* (§ 158).

II. The special development of the OE. combination *āw* (§ 159).

III. The special development of the OE. combination *āg* (§ 160).

§ 154. OE. *ā* when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds has become *ia* in the Lorton dialect:

bián bone, *biáp* both, *briád* broad, *əlián* alone, *grián* to groan, *liád* sb. load (cf. OE. *lād* way, journey, conveyance, but the meaning of the word has been influenced through association with the OE. vb. *hladan*, NE. to *lade* to load, to charge or fill; cf. N.E.D. sub *load* sb. and *lade* vb.), *liáf* loaf, *miást* most, *əmiást* almost, *riáp* rope, *siáp* soap, *stián* stone, *tiád* toad (OE. *tād-ige*), *tliáp* cloth (no shortening of the *ā*), *griáp* to grope (OE. *grāpien* to seize, handle). *kriák* to croak, points back to an OE. unrecorded vb. *crācian*. *liáp* loath, *tliáŕ* to clothe, *tliáz* clothes.

§ 155. When *initial* the first element of the *ia*-diphthong assumes a consonantic character:

jak oak, *jam* home, *jal* whole, *jans* once, *jan* one.

NOTE. The following words, where we find an *ō* instead of *ja*, should be looked upon as loans from literary English: *ōnli* only, is hardly ever used by a dialect speaker, *nobæt* being used instead; the same remark applies to *ōts* oats, which is hardly known in our district, *avər* (cf. App.) being the usual word. *ōr* ear, and *ōþ* oath, also probably are loans.

§ 156. When *final* the *iā*-diphthong has remained at an earlier stage of the diphthongization process represented by *iā*, with the stress on the first element of the diphthong:

slīā sloe (OE. *slā*), *tīā* toe (OE. *tā*), *sīā* so (OE. *swā*, with loss of *w*. *wīā* who, is still occasionally heard from old people in our district, but is now usually replaced by *wō*; in other parts of Cumberland (especially in the North), however, *wīā* is the usual form. *nīā* adj. no (ME. *nā*, *nō*, a reduced form of OE. *nān*); cf. also *nīābodi* nobody.

NOTE I. We find the *ā* preserved in *gā* vb. to go, owing to influence from the form *gaŋ*, which is used alongside with *gā*, no special distinction being noticeable between the two forms as far as meaning and occurrence are concerned.

NOTE II. The original form of 'two' is *twīā*, as shown by some of the Cumbrian dialectal varieties, but in Lorton the form *tūu* (from standard English or neighbouring dialects) has taken its place.

§ 157. We find *wō* (§ 135) instead of *iā* in some words; this *wō* points back to a ME. *ō*, and these words must be looked upon as ME. loans from some neighbouring dialect. Such words are *bwot* boat, *fwōm* foam, *gwot* goat, *mwon* vb. to moan, *rwōd* road, *swori* sorry, *rwōr* vb. to roar.

§ 158. The OE. combination *ār* has become Lorton *āēr*: *māēr* more, *sāēr* sore.

NOTE. *bōr* boar (OE. *bār*) is a loan from neighbouring dialects or standard English.

§ 159. The OE. combination *āw* has developed in two different ways in the Lorton dialect: it has given *ō* or *au*. It became *ō* when arising from OE. *āw* in medial position between vowels, but *au* in the combination *āw* + *cons*.

I. *ō*; through shortening of the *ā* and vocalization of the *w* we get the diphthong *au*; this *au* has then been monophthongized into *ō* (cf. Sweet, *NE. Gr.*, p. 266; Horn, *Untersuchungen zur NE. Lautgesch.*, pp. 21 ff.).

sō saw (OE. *sāwon*, pret. plur.), *snō* snow, *sō* to sow,

prō to throw, *blō* to blow, *krō* to crow, *nō* to know, *mō* to mow.

II. OE. *āw* has become *au* in the following words where the diphthong has been preserved through the following consonant :

aut aught, anything, *naut* naught, nothing. OE. *āwih̄t*, *nāwih̄t* underwent contraction, thus giving forms such as OE. *āxt*, *nāxt*; the *ā* was then shortened, and the usual *u*-glide (cf. § 132) developed before the spirant *x*, whence the ME. forms *auxt*, *nauxt*. The spirant *x* (still retained in the Scotch dialects) has now disappeared in Cumberland (probably quite recently), but it undoubtedly exercised a preserving influence on the au-diphthong.

auðer either (of two), *nauðer* neither (of two) < OE. *āhwæðer* and *nāhwæðer*; these OE. forms were contracted into OE. *awðer*, *nawðer*; through vocalization of the *w* and shortening of the *ā* we then arrive at the ME. forms *auðer*, *nauðer* > Lorton *auðer*, *nauðer* with the ME. *au*-diphthong still preserved (on the transition of intervocalic *ð* into *d* or *ɖ* see consonants, § 317).

saul soul, has arisen from the oblique cases of OE. *sāwol* (genitive *sāwles*) with vocalization of the *w* and retention of the *au*-diphthong.

§ 160. The OE. combination *āg* (in words where the *g* was intervocalic) shows the same development as OE. *āw* (§ 159); the *ā* was shortened and the *g* vocalized, the result being *ō*, through monophthongization of the *au*-diphthong (arisen through the above-mentioned vocalization) (see above, § 159, I).

Examples of *ō*: *ō* vb. to owe (OE. *āgan*), *lō* low (Scand.; cf. Icel. *lāgr*).

OE. *āg* became *au* in the OE. combination *āg* + cons. : *aun* vb. to own, to possess (OE. *āgnian*) (see § 159, II).

§ 161. We find OE. *ā* represented by various short vowels in the following words :

ī in *nin* pron. none; OE. *nān* would regularly develop into *nián*, a form still found in the NNW. Yorkshire dialect; the second element of the diphthong was then weakened into *e*, *ə* (cf. N. Cumberland form *nien* and S. Scotch *niən*), and finally dropped.

ǣ in *asand aks*, pret. *ast*, *akst* (shortened from OE. *āscian*) to ask.

We find two *e*-forms, of which, no doubt, the first one owes its *e* to Scandinavian forms: *eli-de* holiday (OE. *hālig dæg*), Icel.

ON. *helgr*, contracted form of older *heilagr*, Dan. *hellig*, Swed. *helig*; cf. Swed. *helgdag*, *helig*, Icel. *helgr* holiday, feast, sabbath.

et hot (OE. *hāt*) has perhaps arisen through shortening of the Scandinavian form, Icel. ON. *heitr*, Swed. *hēt*, but may also be explained from the forms with shortened stem-vowel of the past participle and preterite of the corresponding verb (Chaucer, Parl. Foules 145, *hette*, pret. ; Trevisa, Higden (Rolls) ii. 17, *i-het*, pp., and several other instances (cf. N.E.D., *heat* vb.)).

æ

§ 162. OE. *æ*, arisen through *i*-mutation of *ā*, has developed into Lorton *eī*, when not influenced by neighbouring sounds.

Examples : *bleitš* to bleach, *tlein* clean, *deil* to deal, (e)*itš* each, (e)*il* to heal, (e)*it* heat, (e)*iþ* heath, (e)*iðæn* heathen, *leid* to lead, *lein* to lean, *lein* adj. lean, *leist* least, *leiv* to leave, *mein* to mean, *mein* adj. mean, *reitš* to reach, *seī* sea, *spreid* to spread, *sweit* to sweat (mostly used by old people, *swet* now being the usual form), *teitš* to teach (hardly ever used, mostly *lārn*), *teiz* to tease, *weit* wheat, *reip* wreath.

§ 163. We find several words whose stem-vowel has undergone shortening, the result of this shortening being *ǣ*, *ĕ*, and, in three cases, *ĭ*, the different vowels dating from the different periods at which the shortening has taken place.

ǣ in *bad* *bad* (< ME. *badde* ; origin somewhat obscure, but cf. OE. *abæded*, and N.E.D. sub *bad*), *fat* *fat*, represents the earliest shortening from the end of the OE. period.

ĕ in *tled* pp. *clad*, *emti* empty, *fleš* flesh, *elþ* health, *left* *left*, *len* (OE. *lænan*) vb. to lend, *les* less, *eni* any. Most of these *ĕ*-forms represent a later shortening after the raising of the OE. *æ* into ME. *ē* ; but this *ĕ* may also have arisen through analogical influence (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 96) ; such is the case in the Lorton form *brenþ* breadth, analogical form to *lenþ* length.

ĭ in three words : *nivær* never, *ivær* ever, *iv(ə)ri* every. It is difficult to explain the origin of this *ĭ*, but the three above-mentioned *i*-forms are very common in the modern English dialects, especially those of the North, and no doubt originated in ME.

§ 164. OE. *æg* has had the same development as the OE. combination *æg* (§ 98) (= ME. *ai*) :

tlæ clay, *næ* neigh, *kæ* key, *æðer* (OE. *ægðer*) either, *næðer* neither.

Anglian ē (= W. Saxon æ)

§ 165. Anglian ē (W. Saxon æ) from W. Germanic ā, Germanic æ, has become ī in the Lorton dialect when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds.

Influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work in the following cases :

I. The OE. combination ēr has become iār (§ 167).

II. The special development of the OE. combination ēg (§ 168).

§ 166. Anglian ē (from W. Germ. ā) apart from influence of neighbouring sounds :

dīd deed, grīdī greedy, īb(ə)nīn evening, īl eel, lītš leech, nīdl needle, sīd seed, šīp sheep, slīp to sleep, spītš speech, strīt street (W. Germ. loan from Latin *strāta*).

The following words, whose stem-vowel has undergone shortening in standard English, have retained their regularly long stem-vowel in the Lorton dialect :

driđ to dread, mīdē meadow, slīpt pp. slept (this form may, however, be a secondary formation), prīd thread, wīpn weapon.

NOTE I. The stem-vowel of the following words has undergone shortening into ē :

bleđar bladder, bređ breath, let vb. to let, red pret. read, wet wet, setēđə Saturday ; eđar adder, is still heard from old people, but this form has now been superseded by ađar from standard English.

The above-mentioned shortenings have mostly taken place by the end of the OE. period (cf. Morsbach, *M.E. Gram.*, § 59 ff.).

NOTE II. We find an ā in blast vb. to blast ; the word is probably a loan from some neighbouring dialect, or the a may be due to Scandinavian influence (a shortening of ā ; cf. Icel. ON. *blāstr*).

NOTE III. We find an ī, probably the result of a late shortening, in the words sili silly, šīpərd shepherd.

§ 167. The Anglian combination ēr (W. Saxon ær, from W. Germ. ār) has generally become iār in the Lorton dialect :

brīar briar, šīar there, fīar to fear, bīar bier, īrənt errand ; in iār year, the initial palatal consonant has been dropped (cf. § 271, note I).

§ 168. The OE. combination ēg (W. Saxon æg) has given æ : grāe gray.

wei whey, is probably a dialect loan.

OE. ē (arisen through *i*-mutation of ō)

§ 169. OE. ē, arisen through *i*-mutation of ō, has become ī in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *bīṣ* beech, *blīd* to bleed, *brīd* to breed, *fid* to feed, *fīl* to feel, *fīt* pl. feet, *gīs* pl. geese, *grīn* green, *īl* heel, *kīp* vb. to keep, *mīt* to meet, *kwīn* queen, *sīk* to seek, *spīd* speed, *swīt* sweet, *tīp* teeth, *kīpt* pp. kept, *dīm* to deem, *grīt* to greet, salute, *wīp* to weep, *fīlt* pret. felt, *īd* to heed, *kīn* keen.

NOTE. We find several shortened forms where the stem-vowel was shortened at an early period before consonant combinations:

fed pret. of *feed*; *met* pp. and pret. of *meet*; *bled* pret. of *bleed*; *bles* (OE. *blētsian*) vb. to bless; *bred* pret. of *breed* vb.; *gezlin* gosling.

In *brīṣ* (OE. *brēč*) breech, we find an instance of late shortening.

§ 170. OE. (Anglian) ē from various sources.

I. Anglian ē from the *i*-mutation of the diphthongs ēa, ēo (W. Saxon ie) has had the same development in the Lorton dialect as the ē arisen through *i*-mutation of ō (§ 169).

Examples: *bēlīv* vb. to believe, *tšīz* cheese (Angl. *čese*, WS. *čiese* < **ceasi*, Lat. *cāseus*), *nīd* need, *sīn* pp. seen (Angl. *gesēne*, WS. *gesīene*; *i*-mutation of ēo), *šīt* sheet, *slīv* sleeve, *stīl* steel (Angl. ē, WS. *īe* < Germ. **staχlja*), *īt* height, *stīpl* steeple.

We find the same development of this Anglian ē before *r*, but with the usual *ə*-glide developed before the *r*:

īər to hear (Angl. *hēran*), *īəḍ* pp. heard (Angl. *gehēred*).

NOTE. The form *īəḍ*, however, may have been formed on analogy with the infinitive, for we find another form *āḍ* in the Lorton dialect (pret. and pp.), regularly developed from the early shortened forms of the preterite (Orm. *herrde*, pret. and pp. *hērd*).

II. Anglian ē (= WS. ēo, ēa) before the palatals *c*, *g*, *h* has also given ī in our dialect:

līt light (Angl. *lēht*, WS. *lēoht*), *lītnin* lightning, *rīk* to smoke, to reek (Angl. *rēcan*, WS. *rēocan*), *ī* high (Angl. *hēh*, later *hēh*, WS. *hēah*).

NOTE. *nekst* (occasionally *nikst*) represents an early shortening of Angl. *nēhst*.

III. Germanic ē has become ī (+ the *ə*-glide) in *īər* here.

IV. OE. *ē*, arising from lengthening in monosyllables, has also become *ī*. Instances are the stressed forms of the personal pronouns:

ī he, *mī* me, *wī* we, *wīl* (besides *wel*) (< OE. *wēl*).

NOTE. *jə* (shortening of OE. *gē*); the OE. stressed form with long vowel has not been preserved in our dialect (but cf. Acc., adverbs).

ī

§ 171. OE. *ī* (=ME. *ī*) has been diphthongized into *ai* in the Lorton dialect; when followed by an *r*, this *ai* becomes triphthongal, the usual *ə*-glide arising before a following *r*.

ī has been shortened in a good many cases into *ɪ* (§173).

§ 172. Examples: *aid* sb. hide, *aidl* idle, *ais* ice, *aivi* ivy, *baid* to bide, to remain, *bait* to bite, *braidl* bridle, *daik* dike, hedge, *draiv* to drive, *faiv* five, *fraidə* Friday, *əlaiv* alive (OE. *on līfe*), *laif* life, *laik* like (OE. *gēlic*), *laim* lime, *lain* line, *main* (poss. pron.) mine, *mait* (OE. *mīte*) mite, *mail* mile, *naif* knife, *pail* (OE. *pīle*) pile, *paik* pike, *pain* (OE. *pīn-trēo(w)*) pine, *paip* pipe, *raid* to ride, *rait* to write, *raiz* to rise, *raip* ripe, *said* side, *slaid* to slide, *slaim* slime, *smaith* to smite, *straid* to stride, *straik* to strike, *šain* to shine, *šait* (OE. *scītan*) cacare, *slaip* to take or slip off the covering of something (for instance, the skin of an eel), to cut off a thin piece (cf. OE. *slīpan* with a similar sense, see Bosworth-Toller, OE. Diet., *slīpan*, p. 885: 'Se cyningslǣpte his beah of'), *taim* time, *tšaid* to chide, *twain* to twine, *wail* while, *waip* to wipe, *wain* to whine, *wait* white.

§ 173. OE. *ī* has undergone shortening before double consonants and consonant combinations in some words; this shortening had generally taken place during the last part of the OE. period (cf. Morsb., *ME. Gram.*, § 59, Anm. 4).

fifti (OE. *fīftig*) fifty, *fift* (OE. *fīfta*) fifth, *dwinl* (OE. *dwīnan* + the diminutive and frequentative suffix *-le*) to dwindle, *krisn* (OE. *crīstnian*) to christen, *krisməs* (OE. *crīstes mæsses*) Christmas (there also exists a metathetic form of this word often heard from old people, *kəšməš*), *dītš* (OE. *dīcč*) ditch, *wizdm* wisdom, *wimin* women, *fipms* fivepence. In *wumən* woman, we find *u* instead of *i* on account of the surrounding bilabials. In *stūrəp* stirrup (OE. *stīrāp*) the *ɪ* has become *ʊ* through the influence of the following *r*.

Short are also *linin* (or *lin*) linen (originally an adjective formed

from OE. *lin* by the usual *en*-suffix). In the word *lain-sīd* linseed, occasionally heard from old people, we find the regular development of the OE. *ī*.

§ 174. The OE. combination *īr* has become *aiər* (cf. § 84) :

aiərŋ iron, *spaiər* spire, *waiər* wire.

§ 175. The OE. combination *īw* has become *i(ʊ)u* (cf. § 129) through vocalization of the *w* :

tiūzdə Tuesday (OE. *Twæsdæg*), *spiʊu* to spew (OE. *spīwan*).

ō

§ 176. The regular development of OE. *ō* (=ME. *ō*) in the Lorton dialect is *iʊ* (cf. below, § 178); the quality of the second element of this diphthong varies slightly through the influence of the following consonant: it assumes a character very similar to that of *û* (mentioned in § 140) when followed by an *m*, *b*, but before the other consonants it is unrounded into *ʊ* and when final into *ə* (§ 180). When initial the first element of the diphthong assumes a consonantic character (*i* > *j*).

§ 177. Influence of neighbouring sounds has prevented the diphthongization of *ō* into *iʊ* in the following cases :

I. When followed by an *r* the *ō* has become *ʊu(w)ə* (§ 181).

II. The special development of the combination *ōht* into *au(t)* (§ 182).

III. The special development of OE. *ōh* (*ōg*) (§ 183).

IV. The OE. combination *ōw* > *au* (§ 184).

V. OE. *ō* has been shortened before consonant combinations in some cases (§ 185).

§ 178. OE. *ō* (=ME. *ō*), when apart from influence of neighbouring sounds, has become Lorton *iʊ*.

The *ō* of the North was fronted into the same sound as that which arose from O. Fr. *û*, as shown by rhymes like *sone : fortune* (= *fortune*) (Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 693), and by the fact that these two sounds are written in the same way (Luick, *Unters.*, § 119). This *û*-sound still existed in the dialects of Scotland and the North as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, testified by Smith and Gill (Luick, *Unters.*, § 119), and we find it represented in the dialects of modern Scotch by *ü*, *ö*, and *ĩ*-sounds, but it has undergone a late diphthongization (probably not earlier than the eighteenth century) in the North English dialects. The various diphthongs arisen through this diphthongization (*üu*, *iæ*, *iə*, *iu*)

have all developed in the same way through a process analogous to that of the *iá*-diphthongization and the development of O. Fr. *ü* in standard English, that is to say, a raising and unrounding of the first part of the above-mentioned *ü*-vowel (from O. Fr. *ü* and original *ō*). Through the usual dissimilation process and shifting of the stress on to the second element we get Lorton *ių* and the *iu* prevailing all over the rest of the North and North-western dialect district, except in North Cumberland where we find *üu*, probably representing one of the earlier stages of the diphthongization process, whereas the varieties *iə* (M. and NE. Yorksh., S. Durh., SW. Northumb.; cf. Luick, § 111), and *iœ* (SE. Northumberland in the coal-mining districts), probably are secondary developments of the *iü*-diphthong, arisen through weakening and unrounding of the *u*-element.

§ 179. Examples of *ių*: *biųk* book, *biųt* boot (OE. *bōt*), *bliųd* blood, *briųm* broom, *diųn* pp. done, *dliųm* gloom, *dliųv* glove, *fiųt* foot, *fliųd* flood, *giųs* goose, *jųf* hoof, *jųk* hook, *kiųk* sb. cook, *kiųl* cool. *kriųn* to croon (M. Dutch or Low Germ. origin; cf. M. Dutch, Low Germ. *krōnen* to groan, to murmur) points to a ME. *ō*. *liųk* to look, *miųd* mood, *miųn* moon, *niųk* nook, *niųn* noon, *priųv* to prove, *riųd* (OE. *rōd*) rood, *riųk* rook (OE. *hrōc*), *riųt* root, *riųf* roof, *siųn* soon, *siųt* soot, *skiųl* school, *stiųl* stool, *spiųn* spoon, *tiųl* tool, *tiųp* tooth.

NOTE I. In *fūd* food, the vowel has been shortened before the beginning of the diphthongization process (or *fūd* may simply be a loan from a neighbouring dialect or standard English); but we find the regular development into *ių* in the adj. *fiųdi*, used in the expression: *av ə fiųdi fīlin in mi stomək*.

NOTE II. *smųuð* smooth, is probably a loan; the original Cumberland word for *smooth* is *snod* (perhaps Scand.; cf. App.).

§ 180. Final *ō* has become *iá*, *ių*, in *diá*, *dių* vb. to do, through weakening and unrounding of the *u*-element; we find another development of this *u*-element in the peculiar form *div*¹ (1st pers. sing. and 1st and 2nd pers. plur. of the pres. ind.), mostly used before a following vowel, for instance, *divənt-jə sī* don't you see?

¹ This form (*div*) has perhaps developed under analogical influence from the verb *to have*, the *v*-forms of both verbs occurring in the 1st pers. sing. and 1st and 2nd pers. plur. of the pres. ind. (I owe this suggestion to Mr. S. Dickson-Brown).

The u-element has here assumed a consonantic character between two vowels. We also find an infinitive form *dī* to do, which may have arisen through monophthongization of the *iū* (*iá*)-diphthong or have been introduced from some neighbouring dialect; from this infinitive have arisen the forms (*ǣ*, *ī*) *diz* (I, he) does, (*ðū*) *dist* (thou) dost, of the pres. ind. sing.

§ 181. When followed by an *r* the OE. *ō* has become *yu(w)ə*; the following *r* has prevented the diphthongization into *iū*; the fronting process of *ō* into *ū*, referred to above, has stopped at the *ū*-stage; this *ū* has then been diphthongized in the same way as OE. *ū* (cf. § 186), and the usual *ə*-glide has arisen before the *r* (on the *w*-glide cf. § 33).

Examples: *flyu(w)ər* floor, *myu(w)ər* moor.

§ 182. The OE. combination *ōht* has given Lorton *aut*; the first element of the diphthong is a slightly retracted *a*, bordering on *ɔ*. The *ō* was shortened already in OE. (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 166), a parasitic *u*-glide developed before the *h* (the *h* was subsequently dropped), and the first element of the *ou*-diphthong was widened into *a* (cf. the similar development of the OE. combinations *ol* and *ox* into *au*, and Sweet, *H. E. S.*, §§ 897, 907).

Examples: *braut* pret. and pp. brought, *saut* pret. and pp. sought, *paut* pret. and pp. thought.

§ 183. *ō* in the OE. combination *ōh* (*ōg*) has been regularly diphthongized into *iu*, but there is a slight difference according as the spirant has been absorbed or retained. When absorbed the spirant seems to have caused compensation lengthening of the u-element into (i)*ū*, and the *ū* has then probably been diphthongized into *yū* (cf. § 186) (or the *y* may be merely a glide-sound).

Examples: *biyu* bough, *sliyu* slew (pret.), *driyu* drew. The two last-mentioned forms, however, may have been influenced by analogy from the old *ew*-preterites, *knew*, *crew*, &c. (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 897).

The spirant has been preserved as an *f* in two words (where *ō* is represented by *iū*): *tiūf* tough, *əniūf* enough.

§ 184. The OE. combination *ōw* has given Lorton *au* through shortening of the *ō*, vocalization of the *w*, and widening of the first element of the *ou*-diphthong into *a*.

Examples: *dlau* to glow, *grau* to grow, *stau* to stow.

§ 185. In the words mentioned below the long stem-vowel has been shortened in the Lorton dialect. The OE. *ō* has had a two-

fold development into *ö* or *ũ* (*û*), according to the different periods at which the shortening has taken place.

(a) The words with *ö* no doubt represent an earlier period of shortening than those with *u*.

Examples: *blosm* blossom, *foðær* fodder, *fostær* to foster, *kom* pret. came (OE. *c(w)ōm*), *soft* soft, *þrosl* (< OE. *þrōstle*) thrush.

(b) The words with *u* represent a later shortening of the stem-vowel; the *ō* was over-rounded and became *ū* in the sixteenth century, as shown by Ellis's pronunciation vocabulary (iii, pp. 881 ff.), and subsequently shortened into *u* (or *û*).

Examples: *brūðær* brother, *buzm* bosom, *gūd* good, *muðær* mother, *mundæ* Monday, *munþ* month, *stūd* stood, *ūd* hood, *ūðær* other.

ū

§ 186. OE. *ū* appears as *yu* in the Lorton dialect. This sound undoubtedly represents the first stage of the diphthongization of *ū*.

Examples: *brȳun* brown, *brȳu* brow, *bȳuns* to bounce, *ðȳu* thou (acc. form), *əbȳut* about, *fȳul* foul, *kȳu* cow, *lȳus* louse, *mȳus* mouse, *mȳuþ* mouth, *nȳu* now, *prȳud* proud, *sȳuk* to suck (< OE. *sūcan*), *sȳuþ* south, *šrȳud* shroud, *tlȳud* cloud, *tlȳut* clout, *tȳun* town, *þȳuzæn(d)* thousand, *ȳu* how, *ȳus* house, *ȳut* out.

§ 187. A good number of words containing OE. *ū* have had their stem-vowels shortened owing to various reasons; this shortening took place at an early period and in most cases we find the corresponding forms with short stem-vowels in ME.

Examples: *but* but, *duv* dove, *dūst* dust, *fus* fuss, *ūzbæn(d)* husband, *plum* plum, *rūst* rust, *šuv* to shove, *þum* thumb, *tūsk* tusk, *up* up, *ūz* us, *kūd* could (acc. form), *sup* to drink (from OE. *sūpan*).

§ 188. OE. *ū* in the combination *ūr* has had the same development, but the usual *a*-glide has arisen before the *r*.

Examples: *šȳu(w)ær* shower, *ȳu(w)ær* our.

§ 189. *ū* in the OE. combination *ūg* (*ūh*) has had the normal development in *bȳu* to bow, where the spirant has been dropped, but was shortened into *u* in the words *druft* drought, and *ruf* rough, where the spirant remained.

ȳ

§ 190. OE. *ȳ*, arisen through *i*-mutation of *ū*, has had the same development as OE. *ī* and *ȝ* in open syllables: it was diphthongized into *ai*. Before a following *r* this *ai* becomes a triphthong, the usual *ə*-glide arising before the *r*. OE. *ȳ* was shortened into *ȝ* in some words (§ 192).

Examples: *aïd* to hide, *aiv* hive, *braid* bride, *braidl* bridal, *brain* brine, *daiv* to dive, *drai* dry, *lais* lice, *mais* mice, *praid* pride.

NOTE I. *wei* why, is probably a loan from some neighbouring district (probably from the Carlisle district, where OE. *ȳ* and *ī* appear as *ei* instead of Lorton *ai*).¹

NOTE II. In *lāl* little (OE. *lȳtel*) the *t* disappeared through assimilation with the following *l*. The *ȳ* was regularly diphthongized into *ai*, and this diphthong was then monophthongized into *ā*. In the Carlisle dialect we find the form *leil* with the diphthong still preserved, and in the proper name *laitel* (spelt *Little*) we find a form where *tl*-assimilation has not taken place. We find instances of this monophthongization of *ai* in the Cumberland form of the personal pronoun *I*: *ā*, and in the Adlington dialect, where original *ī* appears as *ā*, arisen through the same process (A. Hargreaves, *A Grammar of the Adlington Dialect*, § 39).

§ 191. Before a following *r* OE. *ȳ* appears as *aiə* (§ 84):

faier fire, *aier* hire.

§ 192. OE. *ȳ* underwent early shortening into *i* in the following words:

tšikin chicken, *filp* filth, *fist* fist, *þiml* thimble, *wiš* to wish.

3. DIPHTHONGS

ēa

§ 193. OE. *ēa* has given Lorton *eī*, except in the cases mentioned below, where influence of neighbouring sounds has been at work:

I. The WS. combination *ēah*, Anglian *ēh* (§ 195).

II. The WS. combination *ēaz*, Anglian *ēz* (§ 196).

III. The OE. combination *ēaw* (§ 197).

§ 194. OE. *ēa* was monophthongized into ME. *ē* and then became Lorton *eī* like OE. *ē* in originally open syllables.

¹ The form *wai* why, is also often used. Cf. dialect specimens below.

Examples: *beīm* beam, *beīn* bean, *beīt* to beat, *breīd* bread, *deīd* dead, *deīþ* death, *deīf* deaf, *dreīm* dream, (e)*īd* head, (e)*īst* east, (e)*īstar* Easter, *greīt* great, *leīf* leaf, *reīd* red, *seīm* seam, *steīm* steam, *streīm* stream, *teīm* team, *tšeīp* cheap, *preītn* to threaten.

§ 195. In the OE. combination *ēah* the diphthong was smoothed before the following *h* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 677, and Bülbring, *A.E. Elem.-Buch.*, § 200); this combination has given rise to a great variety of forms in the modern English dialects (Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 184). In Lorton Angl. *ēh*, WS. *ēah*, ME. *ēh*, has partly given *ī*, viz. *nī* (Angl. *nēh*) nigh, near, *ī* (Angl. *hēh*) high, *lī* (Angl. *lēh*) lea; partly *æ*, viz. *flæ* (Angl. *fleh*) flea, and *næbær* (Angl. *nēh-gebūr*) neighbour. (It is probable that the forms *flæ* and *næbær* have originated in some neighbouring dialect.)

§ 196. The OE. combination *ēaz*, Angl. *ēz*, appears as *ai* in *dai* to dye, *ai* eye; old people, however, still use the form *ī*, pl. *īn*, for eye, eyes.

dai and *ai* are evidently loans from standard English.

§ 197. The OE. combination *ēaw* has given Lorton *eū* in *teū* (OE. *tēawian*) to toil, to work hard, *deū* dew, *feū* few; these forms originate from the ME. forms *tēwen*, *dēwe*, *fēwe*, through vocalization of the *w*, the *u*-element in the triphthong being the usual excrescent glide of which we find numerous instances in similar sound combinations, whereas the Lorton form *rau* (OE. *hrēaw*) raw, has arisen from the ME. form *raw* (< OE. *hrēaw* with shortened stem-vowel).

NOTE. *šō* (OE. *ge-scēawian*) to show, has evidently been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 198. *ēa* in the OE. combination *ēar* has regularly given *iā* in *iār* ear (the old Cumberland word, however, is *lug*, prob. of Scandinavian origin; see Appendix); it has given *ār* in *nār* near, regularly developed from the ME. form *nerre* adj.

§ 199. OE. *ēa* has been shortened into *a* in *šaf* (OE. *scēaf*) sheaf, *tšap* (OE. *cēapman*) chap, *laðær* (OE. *lēaðor*) lather—all pointing back to ME. short *a*-forms; into *e* in *ešær* (OE. *hēahfore*, Angl. *hēhfore* heifer, from a ME. short *e*-form like *hekfere* (*heffre*, Pr. P. 234, Voc. 250, Trev. iv. 451).

NOTE. The diphthong in *əgián* again, points back to OE. and ME. forms with *ā* (ME. *agān* < OE. *agān*; see N.E.D. sub *again*).

ēo (īo)

§ 200. Primitive Germanic eu has had a twofold development in West Germanic: in the majority of cases it appears as W. Germ. eu, but when followed by an i, ī, or j in the next syllable it became W. Germ. iu. These two W. Germ. diphthongs in the first instance gave rise to the original OE. diphthongs ēo (< W. Germ. eu) and īo (< W. Germ. iu); ēo and īo were kept apart during the whole of the OE. period only in the Northumbrian (see Bülbring, *AE. Elem.-Buch*, § 111), in the other dialects they were completely mixed up in use, so that ēo and īo were used promiscuously both for W. Germanic eu and iu. The OE. diphthong ēo remained in WS. and Mercian, but in Northumbrian it mostly became ēa (see Bülbring, *AE. Elem.-Buch*, § 114; J. Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 137; Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 150, Anm. 1). This ēa-diphthong then evidently had the same development as original OE. ēa (< Germanic au) in the Lorton dialect into eī (in the majority of cases; see § 201. 1 below). In some cases the OE. eo, īo was the result of a contraction after the disappearance of an intervocalic j (w or h), thus for instance in OE. *friond*, *frēond* (cf. Goth. *frijōnds*, and § 203 below), OE. *bīo*, *bēo* (< **bijōn*), and others.

§ 201. OE. ēo (Anglian ēa; see § 194 above), īo, appears as eī or ī in the Lorton dialect; it has been a difficult task to make a satisfactory distinction between these two sounds, the difference between them being very slight, and in some cases I have not been able to decide whether the ī was preceded by an e-glide or not (in these words I have written (e)ī; see examples under 3 below).

1. We find Lorton eī, pointing to an Anglian ēa (see the diphthong ēa, § 194), in *breīst* breast, *deīp* deep, *deīpþ* depth, *fleīs* fleece, *freīz* to freeze, *leīf* lief, *preīst* priest, *tleiv* to cleave, *treī* tree, *þeīf* thief, *weīl* wheel, *weīd* weed.

2. We find Lorton ī in *bī* to be, *bī* bee, *ætwin* between, *fī* to flee, *fī* free, *sīk* (WS. *sēc*, Angl. *sēc*) sick, *þrī* three.

3. Doubtful cases are n(e)ī knee, s(e)ī to see.

§ 202. OE. ēo, īo in the combination ēog (ēoh) has been smoothed into Anglian ē and become Lorton ī:

fī (WS. *fleogan*, Angl. *flegan*) to fly, fī (WS. *fleoġe*, Angl.

flēge fly, *lī* (OE. *lēogan*, Angl. *lēgan*) to lie, *þī* (OE. *þēoh*, Angl. *þēh*) thigh.¹

§ 203. OE. *ēo*, *īo* has been shortened in some words.

The preterites OE. *bēot* and *fēoll*, Lorton *bet* and *fel*, have been shortened, probably under analogical influence from the numerous weak verbs with regularly short e-preterites: *fēla* fellow (late OE. *fēolaga*, a Scand. loan-word in OE.).

OE. *ēo*, *īo* appears as *ī* in *diwl* devil, *frind* friend, *sistə* seest thou? These three forms probably represent a somewhat later shortening.

ēo appears as *ə* in the compound *þrəpms* threepence (shortened before a consonant combination).

ēo has been shortened into *o* in *fōti* forty (but we find an *ō* in *fōtnəþ* fortnight).

NOTE. OE. *ēo* in the combination *ēor* underwent early shortening in the compound OE. *dēorling*. We find short forms of this word already in Ormulum (*derrling*). This *ē* then had the same development as OE. short e before a following r + *cons.* into *ā*: Lorton *dārlin* (see § 113).

§ 204. The OE. combination *ēow* (in Anglian often *ēaw*; see Bülbring, § 114, Anm. 2) has become Lorton *iū* (in a few cases *au*; see § 205 below) through monophthongization (into ME. *ēw*), vocalization of the *w*, and raising of the first element of the diphthong into *i*; note, however, that this *i* is somewhat lowered (especially after the liquids *r*, *l*), bordering on *ɛ* (on the *ɤ*-glide between *i* and *u* see § 129).

Examples: *bliū* pret. blew, *briū* to brew, *griū* pret. grew, *niū* pret. knew, *niū* new, *riū* to rue, *triū* true, *tri(ū)þ* truth.

When initial the first element of the diphthong assumes a consonantic character: *jū* (OE. *ēow*) yew.

§ 205. OE. *ēow* (in Anglian often appearing as *ēaw*) has become *au* in a few cases: *fau(w)ər* four (OE. *fēower*), *fau(wə)tin* fourteen (OE. *fēowertene*), *faut* fourth (note that the *w* in the two first-mentioned words is nothing but the usual glide arising between *u* and *ə* in triphthongs), *sau* (OE. *sēowian*, **sēawian*) to sew, *tšau* (OE. *cēowan*, **cēawan*) to chew.

¹ Here also belongs the adj. *drī* = tedious, slow, wearisome, persistent < ME. *dreȝ*, *dregh*, probably from an Anglian unrecorded form **drēh*, **drēg* (W. Sax. **drēog*); see N.E.D. sub *dreē*, *dreigh*.

These forms cannot be explained from the ME. *ēw*-forms (cf. § 204), but point to ME. forms with *ōw*; in the case of *fau(w)ər* four, the present Lorton form is regularly developed from the ME. *fower*, and we must assume similar ME. forms for *sau* and *tšau*, thus ME. **sōwen*, **chōwen* (cf. the development of ME., OE. *ō + w*, § 184).

§ 206. OE. *ēo*, *īo* (Angl. *ēa*) before a following *r* has given Lorton *iə* :

bīər beer, *dīər* dear, *dīər* deer.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH ELEMENT

THE ME. VOWELS OF FRENCH ORIGIN AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN THE LORTON DIALECT

1. SHORT VOWELS

a

§ 207. ME. *ǣ*=O. Fr. *a* has generally become *a* in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *barəl* barrel, *fašin* fashion, *galən* gallon, *kabiš* cabbage, *kap* (O. Fr. *cape* sb. cap, ME. *capen* vb. to cover with a cap) to surpass, for instance, *kani* *ōld* *Cumərlan* *kapsəm* *ō* (from an old Cumbrian song), *karət* carrot, *lamp* lamp, *natrəl* natural, *radiš* radish, *saləd* salad, *vali* value, *vali* valley.

A following *st* has not affected the *a* in words like *pastər* pasture, *bastəd* bastard.

§ 208. The ME. combination *all* and *al*+*cons.* has become Lorton *ō*, like OE. *a* in the same position, and through exactly the same process (§ 96).

Examples: *bō* ball, *ōmənak* almanac, *ōmənd* almond, *skōd* to scald.

§ 209. A preceding bilabial consonant has not affected the quality of the *a*:

kwaliti quality, *kwāt* quart, *waləp* to beat, to illtreat (ME. *walopen*; see Stratmann, *ME. Dict.*; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, sub *gallop*), perhaps originally the same word as *gallop* and of imitative origin. We find the original sense of the word preserved in our dialect: to move quickly and awkwardly (Prevost, p. 353). The etymology of this word, however, is somewhat uncertain.

§ 210. ME., O. Fr. *a* in the combination *ar*+*cons.* has been regularly lengthened into *ā* (§ 95).

Examples: *bārber* barber, *bārgin* bargain, *gāḡin* garden, *kāḡ* card, *kwāt* quart, *pāšəl* parcel, *pāt* part, *skārlet* scarlet, *tšādž* charge.

e

§ 211. ME. $\text{ē} = \text{O. Fr. e}$ generally appears as e in the Lorton dialect.

Examples : *det* debt, *dres* dress, *dželəs* jealous, *dželi* jelly, *letər* letter, *letəs* lettuce, *medl* to meddle, *mend* to mend, *prentis* apprentice, *selər* cellar, *sens* sense, *spektiklɜ* spectacles, *treml* to tremble.

§ 212. ME. $\text{ē} < \text{O. Fr. ai}$ was shortened to e and has given e in our dialect.

Examples : *feznt* pheasant, *plezər* pleasure, *pleznt* pleasant, *vesl* vessel.

NOTE. The a in *varə* very, is probably due to the influence of the following r . The a in *salri* celery, is probably a modern adoption (see Kjederqvist, *The Dialect of Pewsey*, p. 62). According to N.E.D. the word was also written *sallary* in the eighteenth century.

§ 213. ME. $\text{e} = \text{O. Fr. e}$ has become i before dental and palatal nasals in a few words ; we find numerous instances of the transition $\text{e} > \text{i}$ in the same position in ME. (Morsbach, *ME. Grammatik*, § 109 ; cf. also the transition of OE. $\text{e} > \text{i}$ in a similar position, §§ 110–12).

Examples : *indžin* engine, *inɜ* ink, *lintls* lentils.

We find instances of this transition also in unaccented syllables, for instance, *indžoi* to enjoy, *ingædž* to engage (cf. § 256).

§ 214. ME. ē of French origin in the combination $\text{er} + \text{cons.}$ has become Lorton $\bar{\text{a}}$, like the e in the combination W. Germ. $\text{er} - \text{OE. eor} - \text{ME. er} + \text{cons.}$ (§ 113).

kənsārɜ concern, *māši* mercy, *pāšən* parson, *sārɜənt* servant, *sārmənt* sermon, *sārpənt* serpent, *sārvis* service, *sātʃ* to search, *tlārɜ* clerk, *vārmənt* vermin.

NOTE I. We find a short a in two words, *tarɜər* terrier, and *sarə* to serve ; the ə in *serve* should probably be looked upon as a svarabhakti-vowel developed between r and v , final v having subsequently been dropped.

NOTE II. The form *jərb* herb, must be a loan from some neighbouring dialect ; the identical form occurs in the dialects of Edinburgh, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire (see Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 248).

i

§ 215. ME. *i*, O. Fr. *i* has remained in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *dinər* dinner, *gimlik* gimlet, *kənsidər* to consider, *limət* limit, *linət* linnet, *list* to enlist, *livər* to deliver, *pinien* opinion, *piti* pity, *sidəš* scissors, *sistən* cistern, *twilt* quilt. Some of these words, however, may be loans, introduced at a later period.

o

§ 216. ME. *o* = O. Fr. *o* has remained in the Lorton dialect.

Examples: *forənər* foreigner, *kofin* coffin, *kolər* collar, *kost* to cost, *kotn* cotton, *obstikl* obstacle, *onər* honour, *podiš* porridge (a corrupted form of O. Fr. *pottage*), *profit* profit, *rok* rock (may also be of Celtic origin).

§ 217. ME. *o*, O. Fr. *o* before a following *r* has been lengthened to *ō*.

Examples: *fōtšen* fortune, *kōrnər* corner, *mōšəl* morsel, *mōtər* mortar.

u

§ 218. ME. *u* = O. Fr. *u* has become Lorton *u* or *ù*, the occurrence of these two *u*-varieties being regulated by the rules laid down in § 140 above. Note that in ME. this sound was frequently written *o*, although the quality of the sound undoubtedly was that of *u* (see Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 121, Anm. I and II).

butn button, *dubl* double, *dūzn* dozen, *grūdž* to grudge (probably an altered form of the verb *grutch* < O. Fr. *grucier*, *grucer*, *groucher*; see N.E.D. sub *grudge* and *grutch*), *krūst* crust, *kuntri* country, *kuvər* to cover, *kūzn* cousin, *mustəd* mustard, *mutn* mutton, *pulpot* pulpit (the last syllable probably formed through association with *pot*), *puš* to push, *sufər* to suffer, *supər* supper, *trubl* trouble, *tūtš* to touch (see Behrens, *Französische Elem. im Engl.*, § 39 in Kluge's *Geschichte der engl. Sprache*).

NOTE. *wišin* cushion, has arisen from ME. forms with *i* such as *quissin*, *quissen* (see Stratmann, *ME. Dict.*, and Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*).

§ 219. ME. *u* < O. Fr. *ui* has become Lorton *ù* in *krūš* to crush.

§ 220. ME. *ü* < O. Fr. *ü* has given Lorton *ù* in *džùdž* to judge, *džùst* just.

§ 220 a. ME. *u* = O. Fr. *u* before *r* + *cons.* has had the same development as *u* in the OE. combination *ur* into *ŭ* (§ 144).

Examples: *džŭŋi* journey, *fŭŋiʃ* to furnish, *fŭŋitər* furniture, *kŭrn* currant, *nŭʃ* nurse, *pŭʃ* purse, *tŭrmət* turnip, *ŭt* to hurt.

NOTE. The pronunciation of *u* + *rn* is somewhat unsettled; although the usual pronunciation is *fŭŋitər*, *fŭŋiʃ*, *džŭŋi*, old people may frequently be heard to pronounce these words with a distinctly trilled *r* and short *u*: *furniʃ*, *furnitər*, *džurni* (see § 281).

2. LONG VOWELS

ā

§ 221. ME. *ā*, the lengthening of O. Fr. *ā*, has generally had the same development as OE. *æ* (*a*) in originally open syllables into *iā*, initially *ja* (§ 101). We find, however, a considerable number of words where the original diphthong has been supplanted by *æ* through the influence of standard English or that else are loans from standard English (cf. above, § 103, and also Hirst, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal*, § 52). That the *eə*—*iā*-diphthongization has also taken place in these words is clearly shown by the fact that in some dialectal varieties of Central and East Cumberland they all contain the *iā*-diphthong.

§ 222. ME. *ā* < O. Fr. *ā* has become Lorton *iā* (*ja*) in :

bliám to blame, *jabl* able, *fiás* face, *kiás* case, *liás* to lace, *piást* paste, *pliás* place, *pliát* plate, *sliát* slate, *skiálz* scales (< O. Fr. *escale*), *stiábl* stable, *tiábl* table, *tiást* taste.

§ 223. ME. *ā*, earlier *au* < O. Fr. *au* before labial has also become *iā* in *siáf* safe, *siáv* to save.

§ 224. ME. *ā* < O. Fr. *ā* > Lorton *æ*. The occurrence of this *æ* instead of the original *iā*-diphthong may be ascribed to various reasons :

(a) A following *dž* (or *ndž*) seems to have prevented the development of the *a*-element, owing to the dental nature of the *dž*-sound : *ædž* age, *kædž* cage, *dændžər* danger, *pædž* page, *rædž* rage, *ingædž* to engage, *wædžiz* wages.

(b) The word is a late loan from standard English; thus, for instance, *æpən*¹ apron, the original Cumberland word for *apron* being *brat* (from Celt. *brat* a rag, pinafore), and *pini*, a shortened form of *pinafore*. Some of the words quoted under the next category (c) may also belong here.

¹ I have also heard the form *næpən* (see Accidence, sub indef. article).

(c) In the following words the *æ*-vowel has supplanted the original diphthong through influence from standard English, although we cannot look upon the words themselves as direct loans from the literary language. Such are, for instance: *bækn* bacon, *dæt* date, *fæd* to fade, *læzi* lazy, *mæsn* mason, *ræt* rate, *græt* grate, *nætər* nature, *flæm* flame.

ME. ē

§ 225. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ei*, *ai* has become Lorton *eī*:

dizeīz disease, *diseīv* to deceive, (e)*īzi* easy, *greīzi* greasy, *pleīz* to please, *peīs* peace, *ræseīv* to receive, *treīt* to treat, (e)*īgər* eager, *feītər* feature, *reīzn* reason, *seīzn* season.

NOTE. We find an *æ* in the words *disæt* deceit, *kænsæt* conceit, *ræsæt* receipt; these *æ*-forms no doubt originate from ME. forms that had preserved the original O. Fr. *ei*-diphthong, Lorton *æ* being the regular development of *ei* (*ai*) (§§ 98, 115), whereas the *eī*-diphthong mentioned above has arisen through a later diphthongization of ME. *ē*.

§ 226. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *e* before *st* has also become Lorton *eī* in *beīst* beast (ME. *bēst*), *feīst* feast (ME. *fēste*).

ME. *ē* = O. Fr. *e* before *s* + *cons.* has become Lorton *eī*: *kreīm* cream (O. Fr. *creme*).

§ 227. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *e*, *eé* has become Lorton *eī*: *feīmæl* female, *tseīt* to cheat, *seīz* to cease, *neīt* neat, *preītš* to preach, *veil* veal, *seīkrət* secret.

NOTE. We find a short stem-vowel in *mezlz* measles (O. Fr. *mesel*, Lat. *misellus*).

ME. ē

§ 228. 1. ME. *ē* < O. Fr. *ie* has become Lorton *ī*: *pīs* piece, *nīs* niece, *grīf* grief.

2. ME. final *ē* in *grī* to agree.

3. ME. *ē* (older *æ*) < O. Fr. *oe*, *ue*: *bīf* beef, *pīpl* people.

ME. ī

§ 229. ME. *ī* of French origin has become Lorton *ai*:

dəlait delight, *əblaidž* to oblige, *ədvaīs* advice, *fain* fine, *nais* nice, *pai* pie, *paint* pint, *prais* price, *rais* rice, *sain* sign, *saiziz* assizes, *tais* to entice, *traī* to try, *traifl* trifle, *vaipər* viper (this word, however, probably is a late loan; the original Cumbrian word is *ag-wurm* (Scandinavian origin, see App.), applied to the viper, common snake, or slow-worm).

NOTE. The Lorton form *lælik* lilac, cannot be derived from O. Fr. *lilac*; the *æ* points to an original form with *ei*, like Turkish *leilaq*, which might be the origin of the provincial forms *laylock*, *lelok* (see N.E.D. sub *lilac*).

§ 230. ME. *i* of French origin has been diphthongized into *ai* before a vowel in the following words, where a ME. change of intensity has taken place: (h)waiet quiet, raiet riot, vaiælet violet.

ME. *ō*

§ 231. ME. *ō* < O. Fr. *o* has become Lorton *wo* through exactly the same process as OE. *ō* (in originally open syllables) > *wō* (§§ 135, 138).

Examples: *klwos* close, *kwot* coat, *kwotš* coach, *nwoɓl* noble, *nwoɓis* notice, *pwotš* to poach, *rwost* to roast; also before an *r* in *stwōri* story.

§ 232. ME. *ō* < O. Fr. *o* before *ll* or *l* + *cons.* has become Lorton *au* in *raul* to roll, *maud* mould (with the usual vocalization of *l* before a following dental, § 274).

NOTE. We find *ū* in *pultri* poultry; this *u*-form also occurs in ME. (Stratm.) and is, according to Koeppl's opinion (*Spelling Pron.*, pp. 58-60), due to the influence of the following *l* + *cons.*

ME. *ō*

§ 233. ME. *ō* occurs in a few words of French origin; it has become Lorton *iū* like OE. *ō* (§ 176) in *biūt* boot, *fiūl* fool.

NOTE. The *ū*-diphthong in *myuuv* to move, points to a ME. form with long *ū*, which has not been recorded; the word is probably a loan from standard English.

§ 234. ME. *ō* before an *r* in *poor* < ME. *pōre*, *pōvre*, O. Fr. *povre*, has given Lorton *iā* in *pīār* poor; this form is mostly used by old people and has arisen through the usual *iū*-diphthongization of ME. *ō*; the *ū*-element was then weakened into *ə*. This form, however, has now been superseded by *p(ū)u(w)ər*, no doubt a late loan from standard English.

ME. *ū*

§ 235. ME. *ū* of French origin has developed in the same way as OE. *ū* into Lorton *ū* (§ 186).

Examples: *būnti* bounty, *dūut* doubt, *əmyūnt* amount, *frūun* to frown, *gūun* gown, *gūut* gout, *kūunt* to count, *krūun* crown, *lūu* to allow, *rūund* round, *sūund* sound (a noise), *stūut* stout, *ūuns* ounce, *vūu* to vow, *trūuzəš* trousers.

§ 236. ME. *ū* of French origin before an *r* has become Lorton *uə* when the *r* was followed by a consonant as in *kuəʃ* course ; the *ū* underwent shortening and the usual *ə*-glide arose before the *r*. When the *r* was final the *ū* was regularly diphthongized and the triphthong *ʊu(w)ə* arose (a distinct bilabial glide is heard between the *u* and the *ə*).

Examples : *flʊu(w)ər* flower, flour, *pʊu(w)ər* power, *tʊu(w)ər* tower, *ʊu(w)ər* hour.

ME. *ū*

§ 237. ME. *ū* of French origin has become Lorton *iʊ* when not followed by a consonant, otherwise *iū* ; the *u*-element of this diphthong is half-length.

ME. *ū* < O. Fr. *u* (eu) : *diʊ* due (when final the pronunciation of the diphthong was somewhat prolonged and a *ʊ*-glide consequently arose ; cf. § 129), *diūk* duke, *diūti* duty (< Anglo-French *dueté*, N.E.D.), *fiūt* flute, *fiūtər* future, *griūəl* gruel, *jūs* use, *kriūəl* cruel, *miūsik* music, *riūbārb* rhubarb, *stiūpid* stupid, *siūət* suet. *siūər* sure, is no doubt the original Lorton form ; it is now occasionally used by old people, the usual form being *šuuər*, a loan from standard English.

ME. *ü* < O. Fr. *ui* : *friūt* fruit, *piʊ* pew.

3. DIPHTHONGS

ME. *ai* (ei)

§ 238. This ME. *ai* answers to the O. Fr. diphthongs *ai* or *ei*. It has had the same development as ME. *ai*, *ei* < OE. *æg*, *eġ* respectively, into Lorton *ā* (cf. §§ 98, 115).

āem aim, (bum)*bāeli* bailiff, *fāp* faith, *gā* gay, *gāen* to gain (ME. *gaine*, but the *i*-element of the ME. diphthong is due to the palatalized *ñ* in O. Fr. *gagner*), *grāen* grain, *māen* main, *pā* to pay, *pāen* pain, *plāen* plain, *tāeliər* tailor, *trāen* train, *tlāem* claim, *tšāen* chain, *wāet* to wait.

NOTE. We find *e* instead of *ā* before the consonant combination *nt* in *fent* vb. and sb. faint, *pent* vb. and sb. paint, *əkwent* to acquaint. There are several *ě*-forms of these words besides the *ai*-forms already in ME., and neighbouring dialects also show *ě*-forms, for instance the Westmoreland dialect (J. Sixtus, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Dialektschriftstellers Frank Robinson zu Bowness in Westmorland*, § 145, Anm. 3 ; Behrens, *Beiträge*, pp. 134, 157).

§ 239. ME. *air* (eir) < O. Fr. *air*, *eir* has become Lorton *æ̃r*: *fæ̃r* fair (O. Fr. *feire*, Fr. *foire*), *æ̃r* heir, *pæ̃r* pair, *tšæ̃r* chair.

A faint *a*-glide may sometimes be heard between the *æ̃* and the following *r*.

ME. *au*

§ 240. This ME. diphthong has a twofold origin:

(a) ME. *au* < original O. Fr. *au* in words like *because*, *fault*, *paw* (O. Fr. *poue*, ME. *powe*, *paue*; the origin of the word is obscure, but N. E. D. assumes Old Low Germ. origin from an original form **pauta*). This *au* has given Lorton *ō* (see below, § 241, *a*).

(b) ME. *au* < O. Fr. *a* before a following *nasal* + *cons.* Opinions differ as to the quality of this ME. sound; according to F. Behrens and Ten Brink it represents the sound of a deep *ā*. Luick, on the other hand, assumes a ME. *au*-diphthong and suggests the following development: *au* > a deep *ā*-sound which was then raised to *æ̃* and then again lowered into *ā*.

The Lorton dialect shows a twofold development of this sound: (1) it has remained at the *æ̃*-stage when the vowel was followed by the nasal combination *ndž* (§ 241, *b*, 1), but (2) it has become *a*, a shortening at the above-mentioned *ā*-stage, when the *n* was followed by a consonant other than *d*.

§ 241. ME. *au* < O. Fr. *au*:

(a) *pō paw* (cf. above, § 240), *frōd* fraud, *sōs* sauce; also when the *au* arose before an *l* + *cons.* (the *l* was vocalized, § 274): *fōt* fault (this form, however, has probably never contained an *l* in our dialect, being the direct development of ME. *faute*), *skōd* to scald.

NOTE. The *ō* has been shortened to *o* in *koz* because, owing to the fact that the word is generally used in unaccented position.

(b) ME. *au* < O. Fr. *a* before *nasal* + *cons.*:

1. Before the nasal combination *ndž*: *dæ̃ndžær* danger, *tšæ̃ndž* to change, *stræ̃ndž* strange, *stræ̃ndžær* stranger.

2. The nasal combination contains a consonant other than *d*: *ant* aunt, *branš* branch, *dans* dance, *grant* to grant, *plant* plant, *tšans* chance, *tšant* to chant.

ME. *oi*, *ui*

§ 242. The ME. diphthongs *oi* and *ui* (< O. Fr. *oi*, *ui*) have fallen together in the Lorton dialect and given Lorton *oi* (we find a trace of the *ui*-diphthong in one word only; cf. below, Note).

Examples: boil to boil, džoin to join, džoint joint, ənoi to annoy, koin coin, loin loin, moist moist, noiz noise, oil oil, oistər oyster, point point, soil to soil, spoil to spoil, vois voice.

NOTE. In *puzn* vb. and sb. *poison*, the last element of the original *ui*-diphthong was dropped ; the preceding bilabial has no doubt exercised a preserving influence on the *u* ; cf. the ME. form *puisun*, Kath. 2344, H. M. 33 (Stratmann-Bradley).

ME. eu

§ 243. (a) ME. eu < O. Fr. *eau* has become Lorton *iú* in *biúti* beauty (the second element of the *iú*-diphthong is half-length like the *iú* < O. Fr. *u*, ME. *ū*, § 237).

(b) ME. eu (*iu*) < O. Fr. *eu* has also become Lorton *iú* in *siút* suit.

CHAPTER V

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 244. Short and long vowels as well as diphthongs in unaccented syllables have been weakened into *ə*, *i*, or disappeared altogether. These weakenings may be divided into two different groups: A. Weakenings caused by word-stress; B. Weakenings caused by sentence-stress. To the former group belong chiefly prefixes and suffixes as well as initial, medial, and final syllables preceded or followed by the principal accent; to the latter enclitic and proclitic words, articles, pronouns, particles, prepositions, and auxiliaries.

A. WEAKENINGS THROUGH WORD-STRESS

1. *Unaccented vowels weakened into ə*

§ 245. (a) In syllables followed by the principal accent:

The *a*-prefixes from various sources have all been weakened into *ə* (or lost, cf. § 262) in both native and French words.

In words of native origin: *əbʊt* about, *əbiʊn* above (OE. *abūfan*), *əflōt* afloat, *əfuər* afore, before, *əgián* again, *əgō* ago, *əlián* alone, *əlaiv* alive, *əmaŋ* among, *əstīd* instead (with a prefixal change in > *a* (*ə*)), *əwæ* away, *əfwōd* to afford, *əfīəd* (< OE. *afæred*) afraid, *əkros* across, *əniʊf* enough.

In words of French origin: *əkwent* to acquaint, *əgrī* to agree, *ənoi* to annoy, *əplai* to apply, *əseml* to assemble.

§ 246. In some prefixes of French origin: *kənsāŋ* concern, *kənsæt* conceit, *kəntɹæri* contrary, *rəsæt* receipt, *rəseiv* to receive, *əkodənlai* accordingly.

NOTE. The vowel of the *be*-prefix has generally become *i* (§ 254), but *ə* in two or three words before a following *l*: *bəliv* to believe, *bəleif* belief, *bəlō* below.

§ 247. (b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

bastəd bastard, *bulək* bullock, *buzəd* buzzard, *dʒeləs* jealous, *elidə* holiday, *fekləs* feeble, *figwəʃ* figwort, *galəp* gallop, *karət*

carrot, *koləp* slice of bacon, *kubəɟ* cupboard, *kustəɟ* custard, *mustəɟ* mustard, *ōləs* always, *saləd* salad, *sakləs* foolish, simple, *setəɟə* Saturday, *siɟəs* scissors, *simətri* cemetery, *styrəp* stirrup, *šipəɟ* shepherd, *undrəd* hundred, *wində* window, *wōtšəɟ* orchard, *blənket* blanket, *bulet* bullet, *linət* linnet, *rabət* rabbit.¹

§ 248. All the present participles in the Lorton dialect have the ending *ən* (after a consonant) or *n* (after a vowel). This *ən*-ending is the weakened form of the original OE. *-ende* of the present participle² (the *ing*-suffix has given Lorton *in*, § 258).

Examples: *bindən* binding, *baitən* biting, *brekən* breaking, *feitən* fighting, *iŋən* hanging, *standən* standing, *raitən* writing.

§ 249. The *ər*-suffix:

amər hammer, *bərbər* barber, *bleɟər* bladder, *butər* butter, *dəndžər* danger, *faɟər* father, *feɟər* feather, *geɟər* to gather, *ivər* ever, *kaŋkər* to rust, *leɟər* leather, *muɟər* mother, *nivər* never, *slumər* slumber, *šūɟər* to shudder, *ɟunər* thunder, *uŋər* hunger, *watər* water.

§ 250. The French *ure*-suffix is rendered by *ər* in our dialect; the *ər*-suffix has probably been substituted for the original French suffix: *flūtər* future, *mezər* measure, *moistər* moisture, *nətər* nature, *pastər* pasture, *piktər* picture, *plezər* pleasure.

§ 251. The *ow*-suffix, arising from the OE. combination *l* or *r* + *g* or *w* (ME. *lw*, *rw*), has become Lorton *ə*:

folə to follow, *fyrə* furrow, *narə* narrow, *šadə* shadow, *šalə* shallow, *sorə* sorrow, *sparə* sparrow, *swalə* to swallow, *talə* tallow, *widə* widow, *wilə* willow, *jarə* yarrow.

§ 252. I have given some compounds above (§ 247); here are a few more typical weakenings of compounds:

biákəs bakehouse, *kwoləs* coal-house, *wešəs* wash-house, *wāɟə* week-day, *jistəɟə* yesterday, *bakwəɟ* backward, *forəɟ* forward, *ōkəɟ* awkward, *fōtnəp* fortnight, *nekləp* neck-cloth, *penəp* pennyworth, *sumət* something.

2. Unaccented vowels weakened to *i*

§ 253. This *i* is somewhat lowered towards the *e*-position and sometimes hard to distinguish from *ə*.

¹ It has been difficult to ascertain whether the three last-mentioned words have *ə*(t) or *i*(t); the quality of this unaccented vowel seems to be somewhere midway between *e* and *i*.

² But it may also represent the ON. ending *-ande* of the present participle.

(a) In initial syllables, followed by the principal accent :

§ 254. The *be*-prefix : *bi*ǣv to behave, *bigin* to begin, *bi(h)int* behind, *bijond* beyond, *binīp* beneath.

§ 255. The *de*-prefix in *dil*ǣ delay, *dilait* delight, *dis*ǣt deceit.

§ 256. The *en*-prefix : *ing*ǣdž to engage, *indžoi* to enjoy (possibly a prefixal change *en* > *in* through influence from standard English).

(b) In syllables preceded by the principal accent :

§ 257. Here belongs the Lorton *i*-suffix of various origin.

1. Lorton *i* < OE. *i*g : *aivi* ivy, *beri* to bury, *bodi* body, *bizi* busy, *dizi* dizzy, *emti* empty, *eni* any, *evi* heavy, *fifti* fifty, *fofi* forty, *lādi* lady, *meni* (*moni*) many, *peni* penny, *priti* pretty, *sili* silly, *stidi* steady, *swori* sorry, *twenti* twenty.

2. Lorton *i* < OE. *ic*-suffix : *bārli* barley, *ōnli* only.

3. Lorton *i* in suffixes of French origin : *bāli* bailiff, *kuntri* country, *nevi* nephew, *saiēti* society, *vali* valley, *vali* value.

NOTE. In some of the above-mentioned words, such as *bāli*, *nevi*, *vali* (value), the *i*-suffix has possibly been substituted for the original French suffix.

§ 258. The Lorton *in*-suffix of various origin :

1. Lorton *in* < the formative *ing*-suffix :

askinz banns, *ibnin* evening, *fāḍin* farthing, *gezlin* gosling, *mwōrnin* morning, *šilin* shilling, *topin* the fore part of the hair (*top* sb. + *ing*-suffix).

2. Lorton *in* < OE. *en*-suffix : *burdin* (or *būḍin*) burden, *tšikin* chicken.

3. Lorton *in*-suffix of French origin : *bārgin* (O. Fr. *bargaine*) bargain, *gāḍin* (O. Fr., Picard *gardin*) garden, *forin* (O. Fr. *forain*) foreign.

§ 259. Lorton *i*dž, *iš* < O. Fr. *age* : *vantidž* advantage, *damiš* damage, *podiš* porridge (< Fr. *potage*; see § 216).

§ 260. Lorton *ikl* < O. Fr. *acle* : *obstikl* obstacle, *spektiklz* spectacles.

§ 261. Lorton *ist* < OE. *est* (*ust*) : *ārivist* harvest, *urnist* earnest.

Loss of vowel or syllable

§ 262. (a) In syllables followed by the principal accent :

bak tobacco, *biūn* above, *kōz* because, *lū* to allow, *lebm* eleven, *list* to enlist, *liv* to deliver, *lotmēnts* allotments, *pinien* opinion, *prentəs* apprentice, *saiēti* society, *saiziz* assizes, *sailm*

asylum, *tætiz* potatoes, *tais* to entice, *twīn* between, *vantidž* advantage.

(b) Medially in syllables preceded by the principal accent :

aktšli actually, *dženrəl* general, *ibnin* evening, *kumpni* company, *natrəl* natural, *ōpni* halfpenny, *ōpəp* halfpennyworth, *penəp* pennyworth, *reglər* regular, *salri* celery, *sumdi* somebody.

NOTE. We find a typical instance of weakening in the word *ridiməizi* (contraction < Reading Made Easy), an old elementary reader used in the Cumbrian schools up to 1870.

B. WEAKENINGS CAUSED BY SENTENCE-STRESS

§ 263. To this group belong enclitic and proclitic words in general, unaccented forms of articles, pronouns, conjunctions, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. I originally intended to give here a fairly complete list of these weakened forms, but as I shall be obliged to enumerate the words in question (quoting accented as well as unaccented forms) in the *Accidence* (Chapter VII), I have preferred to refer to that part of my work, where the above-mentioned words will be found under their respective headings together with examples illustrating their use and occurrence in whole sentences (articles, §§ 386-8; pronouns, §§ 406-21; conjunctions, § 468; prepositions, § 467; verbs, §§ 422-65; adverbs, § 466).

CHAPTER VI

THE CONSONANTS

§ 264. The native and the French consonants have generally fallen together and shared the same development in the Lorton dialect. I have therefore treated them together, except the consonants *k*, *g*, *š*, and the consonant combinations *dž* and *tš*, which have been treated separately in §§ 377-85.

SEMI-VOWELS

W

1. *Initial w*

§ 265. OE. initial *w* before vowels has remained :

water water, *wārk* work, *wil*, *wul* will, *wid* with, *wulf* wolf, *wumn* woman.

NOTE I. An initial *w* has arisen in the *wö*-diphthong < OE. *ō* lengthened before *r* + *cons.* and in originally open syllables (as well as ME. *o* < O. Fr. *o*, § 231) in words like *wōtšæd* orchard, *wol* hole, *wop* hope.

NOTE II. Initial *w* has been dropped in the unaccented forms *æl*, *l* will, *æd*, *d* would (cf. Acc., § 464).

§ 266. We find initial *w* < O. Northern French *w* (Central French *gu*) in the words *wædžiz* wages, *wæt* to wait, *warənt* warrant.

§ 267. OE. initial *w* in the combination *wr* has disappeared :

raŋ wrong, *rek* wreck, *rait* to write, *raut* pp. wrought, *ruŋl* to wrestle.

2. *Medial w*

§ 268. *w* (of native and French origin) in the combinations *dw*, *hw*, *kw*, *sw*, *tw*, *pw* has generally remained :

dw : *dwārf* dwarf, *dwel* to dwell, *dwinl* to dwindle.

hw (the *h* has been dropped ; cf. § 372) : *wat* what, *wen* when, *wör* where, *wuŋl* to whistle, *wö* who (interr. pron.).

kw : *kwæk* to quake, *kwækər* quaker, *kwāt* quart, *twilt*

quilt, kwaliti quality. The *k* has been dropped,¹ but the *w* remained in wišin (ME. *quisschen*, § 380) cushion, waiæt quiet, wik alive (OE. *cwicu*).

sw : swel to swell, swōȝ sword, swōr pret. swore.

tw : twain to twine, twais twice, twelv twelve, twist to twist.

NOTE. The *w* has disappeared in sek such, tȝu two.

ƿw : the dental has disappeared but the *w* remained in waȝ (OE. *ƿwang*) thong, witl to whittle (cf. OE. *ƿritan* to cut, ME. *ƿwitel* knife).

§ 269. OE. *w* has not remained in the combination *cons. + w + final vowel* :

jarə (OE. *gearwe*) yarrow, sparə sparrow, swalə swallow, wide widow.

The ə-ending in these words has arisen through weakening of the vowel that was developed between the preceding consonant and the *w* in the OE., ME. forms of the above-mentioned words, such as OE., ME. *widuwe*, *widewe*, *sparewe*, *sparuwo*, &c.

§ 270. OE. *w* in the combination *vowel + w + vowel* has combined itself with the preceding vowel as the second element of a diphthong. It has given different results according to the nature of the vowel preceding the *w*.

1. OE. combination *aw*, āw > ME. *au* > Lorton ō : ōl awl, sō pret. saw, snō snow (§§ 99, 159).

2. OE. ēaw > ME. ēw > Lorton eȝu : teȝu to work hard, deȝu dew, feȝu few (§ 197).

3. OE. ēow (sometimes Angl. ēaw) > ME. ēw (ēw) > Lorton i(ȝ)u (§ 204) : briȝu to brew, niȝu new, triūþ truth.

4. OE. īw > Lorton i(ȝ)u : spiȝu vb. to spew, tiūzde Tuesday (§ 175).

5. OE. ōw > Lorton au : dlau to glow, grau to grow, stau to stow (§ 184).

NOTE. Medial *w* has disappeared on account of weak stress in the following compounds :

forəȝ forward, ōkəȝ awkward, ōləs always, ōpəþ halfpenny-worth, penəþ pennyworth, suməȝ somewhat, something.

j (=W. Germanic j)

§ 271. OE. initial *j* (ȝ) (=ME. *j*) has remained in the Lorton dialect, except in one word (cf. note I) : jə you, jist yeast, jis yes (rarely used, mostly ai), jit yet, jondər yonder, juȝ young.

¹ See also Appendix, sub wai (heifer).

NOTE I. In the word *iær* year, the *j* has been absorbed by the following *i*-vowel. We find tendencies to drop an initial *j* already in OE., indicated by writings like *caron* dat. pl. years, *ēogop* youth, for *gēaron*, *gēogop* (see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 176, Anm. 1).

NOTE II. We find an initial *j* in *ja* and *ju*-diphthongs arisen from the diphthongization of ME. *ā* (lengthened OE. *ǣ* (*a*) in open syllables), OE. *ā*, lengthened O. Fr. *ā* and OE. (ME.) *ō* in words beginning with a vowel or an *h*.

Examples: *jam* home, *jak* oak, *jabl* able, *jans* once, *juf* hoof, *juk* hook.

THE LIQUIDS

1

§ 272. OE. *l* has remained in all positions, except medially in the combinations *ǣ + l + cons.*, *o + l + cons.*, in final position after *ǣ* and, in two cases, after *ū*, where it has been vocalized and combined itself with the preceding short vowel (cf. also *ul + cons.* in one word, § 275).

§ 273. A. *l* preserved:

1. Initial *l*: *lap* lap, *liát* late, *liúk* look, *lonin* lane.
2. *Cons. + l + vowel*: *tliþ* to clip, shear, *tlokær* a broody hen, *flit* to flit, remove, *flütær* to flutter.
3. Medial *l* between vowels: *talæ* tallow, *olæ* hollow, *salæ* sallow.
4. Originally long vowel + *l + cons.* or *l final*: *maild* mild, *waild* wild, *fiþl* fool, *skiþl* school, *tiþl* tool.
5. Short vowel, other than *ǣ*, *ō + l + cons.*: *elp* to help, *milk* milk, *silk* silk, *telt* pret. told.

6. ME. *l* < O. Fr. *l* has been preserved in all positions, except in the cases mentioned below, in § 274. 5: *lan(w)idž* language, *plæs-tær* plaster, *dželæs* jealous, *skafæld* scaffold, *pulpot* pulpit, *igl* eagle, *jabl* able.

§ 274. B. *l* vocalized:

1. *al + guttural*: *bök* balk, *stök* to stalk, *tök* talk, *tšök* chalk.
2. *al + labial*: *kōf* calf, *ōf* half, *ōpni* halfpenny, *sōv* salve.
3. *al + dental*: *al + t* in *mōt* malt, *sōt* salt.

In the combination *al + d* we find no instances of vocalization in the present dialect, except in the place-name *kōdbek* (spelt *Caldbeck*): *bōld* bald, *fōld* sb. fold, *kōld* cold, *ōld* old (§ 96).

We also find two forms containing the diphthong *ou*: *bould* bold, *fould* vb. to fold.

This **l**, however, has probably been introduced through literary influence; we find distinct traces (as I have already pointed out in § 96, note II) of an old vocalization of the **l** also in this position. It is therefore probable that the vocalization of **l** before **d** has taken place in the Lorton dialect, especially as we find **l** vocalized in the French word **skōd** to scald (see below, 5), and in a few other cases as well.

4. **l** has also been vocalized in a final position after **ǣ** (§ 96): **fō** to fall, to fell, **gō** gall, **kō** to call, **smō** small, **wō** wall.

5. **l** has also been vocalized under the same circumstances in French words (§ 208): **ōmēnak** almanac, **ōmēnd** almond, **skōd** to scald, **bō** ball.

6. **l** in the combination **ol** + *cons.* has also been vocalized (§ 134) and, combined with the preceding **ō**, given rise to the diphthong **au**:

baustēr bolster, **baut** bolt, **kaut** colt, also in **maudiwārp** (ON. *molðvarpa*, but perhaps of native origin; see N.E.D.) mole, the French word **pauni** (O. Fr. *poulenet* a small colt; the word may also be of Celtic origin, Gael. *poniadh* a little horse; cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*) (on **gōuld** gold, and **tōul** toll, see § 134, note II).

§ 275. I have found one instance of **l**-vocalization in the combination **ū** + **l** + *cons.*: **šūudēr** shoulder (§ 146).

§ 276. **l** has also been vocalized in two cases when final after **ū** in the words: **pūu** to pull, **wūu** wool.

§ 277. **l** has disappeared in **sek** such, **witš** which, and also in **šānt** (sometimes **šalēnt**) shall not, **wōnt** (or **wilēnt**) will not.

r

(Ellis, *E. E. Pr.*, v, pp. 84*-5*, 182, 830-2; Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, pp. 218 ff.)

§ 278. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Lorton dialect, as well as of the other dialectal varieties in Cumberland, is the distinct pronunciation of the **r**. It has been preserved in all positions, but the strength of the **r**-vibration varies very much according to the nature of the neighbouring sounds. We can distinguish at least two different degrees of the **r**-strength: **r**₁, strongly trilled like the standard Swedish *r* and the *r* in the dialect of Picardy, and 'the true trill as heard in Italy, Scotland, and Wales' (Ellis, *E. E. Pr.*, p. 84*). In the position *vowel* + **r** + *dental*, the **r** often combines itself with the dental to form a supradental **ɖ**, **ʈ**, like the *rt*-combination in Swedish *hjärta*, *gärde*

(§§ 38, 53). r_2 is something like Ellis's r (v, p. 85*): 'reverted r , the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for r ' ($r = \text{my } r_1$).

§ 279. We find r_1 in the following cases :

1. Initially before a vowel: r_1aiv to rive, r_1au raw, r_1ist rest, r_1uf rough.

2. In the position *cons. + r + vowel*: br_1ij to bring, $br_1iád$ broad, $fr_1æm$ frame, fr_1ozn pp. frozen, gr_1au to grow, $gr_1æ$ gray, $kr_1æn$ crane, $kr_1iáv$ to crave, pr_1iz prize, $pr_1uð$ proud.

r in the position *dental (d, t) + r + vowel* is not quite so strongly trilled as in the above-mentioned cases: dr_1ag to drag, $dr_1iŋk$ drink, dr_1uft drought, tr_1ai to try, $tr_1úst$ to trust.

NOTE. r in the position *dental + r + vowel* differs slightly from the ordinary r_1 . It is best described as a kind of supradental glide and also seems to affect the preceding dental, which assumes a character very similar to $\underset{\sim}{d}$ (see § 317).

3. In the combination *short vowel + r + final vowel*: ber_1i berry, $bor_1ə$ to borrow, $mar_1ə$ marrow, $swor_1i$ sorry.

4. In the combination *vowel + r + voiced cons.* (except d ; cf. below): $ār_1m$ arm, $bār_1n$ child, $būr_1n$ to burn, $bār_1bær$ barber, $kwor_1n$ corn, wur_1m worm.

§ 280. We find r_2 in the following positions :

1. Intervocalic after a preceding long vowel or diphthong: $fær_2ən$ fearing, $stær_2ən$ staring, $wær_2i$ wary.

2. In the combination *long (or half-long) vowel + r + voiceless cons.* (except i): $bār_2k$ to bark, $dār_2k$ dark, $spār_2k$ spark, $wār_2p$ warp.

3. Final after unaccented vowel in the ending $ər$: $boðər_2$ to bother, $brudər_2$ brother, $fau(w)ər_2$ four, $stutər_2$ to stutter.

4. r final after a preceding long vowel or diphthong is not quite so strong as the r mentioned in 1-3 above: $fīər_2$ fear, $stūr_2$ to stir, $tār_2$ tar, $wār_2$ worse.

NOTE. In the combination *short vowel + r + cons.*, however, the r is usually strongly trilled (r_1): $būr_1k$ birch, $mūr_1k$ dark, $wūr_1k$ to work.

§ 281. r in the combination *vowel + r + dental (d, t)* has two different pronunciations :

(a) The original pronunciation with *short vowel + r_1* (strongly trilled) + *dental*, now mostly heard from old people: $būr_1d$ bird, $mūr_1dær$ murder, $būr_1d$ third, $fūr_1niš$ to furnish.

(b) The r combines itself with the dental, thus forming a supra-

dental d , t (occasionally n), and the preceding vowel is lengthened : $\text{b}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{d}$ bird, $\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{d}\text{ər}$ murder, $\text{þ}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{d}$ third, $\text{f}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n}\ddot{\text{ı}}\text{ř}$ to furnish, $\text{d}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{t}$ dirt, $\text{řw}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t}$ short.

This pronunciation (*b*) of $\text{r} + \text{dental}$ seems to me more common than (*a*).

As for $\text{r} + \text{n}$, the pronunciation with n is only occasionally heard, the usual pronunciation being $\text{r}_1 + \text{n}$: $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{n}$ to turn.

NOTE I. In unaccented syllables we always find the supradentals d , t , n : $\text{for}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{d}$ forward, $\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{d}$ murdered, $(\text{n})\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{ər}\text{n}$ apron.

NOTE II. r in the position *vowel* + $\text{r} + \text{s}$ also usually combines with the following s , thus forming the sound ř in words like $\text{g}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}$, grass, $\text{p}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}$ purse, $\text{n}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}$ nurse, $\text{w}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{ř}\text{ən}$ to grow worse.

§ 282. r has undergone metathesis in the Lorton dialect in the same words as standard English, and in addition to that in the following cases :

$\text{br}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{řt}$ (or brast) burst (pret.), $\text{g}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{n}$ to grin, $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}$ Christmas, $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ř}\text{n}\text{in}$ christening, $(\text{n})\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{ər}\text{n}$ apron.

THE NASALS

m

§ 283. m has generally remained unchanged in all positions in the Lorton dialect :

1. *Initial* : man man, mist mist, $\text{m}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ər}$ more, $\text{m}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t}\text{ər}$ mortar, $\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{d}\text{ər}$ mother.

2. *Medial* : $\text{am}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ər}$ hammer, brumstn brimstone, $\text{sum}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ər}$ summer, tuml to tumble.

3. *Final* (after a vowel) : brim (or brum) brim, $\text{r}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{m}$ room, stem stem.

NOTE. In the verb kum to come, the m often disappears before the s (z) of the 3rd pers. sing., for instance, ikuz he comes, or when the following word begins on a consonant : $\text{ku}^{\text{~}}\text{bai}$ come here, $\text{ku}^{\text{~}}\text{d}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n}$ come down.

§ 284. When final after a consonant, m becomes sonantic : ārm arm, bodm bottom, elm elm, storm storm, wārm warm, wurm worm.

n

§ 285. *Initial* n has remained unchanged : $(\text{n})\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{ər}\text{n}$ apron, nest, netl nettle, $\text{ni}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{k}$ nook, nevi nephew.

§ 286. *Medial n* has generally remained : *kanl* candle, *dwinl* to dwindle, *mundə* Monday, *uni* honey, *uniən* onion.

NOTE I. *Medial n* has also been preserved in *kindm* (< OE. *cynedōm*) kingdom.

NOTE II. *Medial n* sometimes disappears in unstressed syllables : *atkisən* Atkinson, *robisən* Robinson, *dikisən* Dickinson. In *æstīd* instead, the *a*-prefix has probably been substituted for the original *in*-prefix (§ 245). In some cases we may, however, be concerned with ME. prototypes without an *n*, e. g. ME. *Robyson*, *Dickyson* (cf. K. F. Sundén, 'On the origin of the hypocoristic suffix -y in English' in *Certum Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum*, Göteborg, 1910, p. 161).

§ 287. We find a parasitic *n* in *porindžər* porringer, *sosin-džər* sausage, and also in the words *brenp* breadth, *winp* width, both formed after the analogy of *lenp* length. In *strenp* strength, the original *ŋ* has become *n* through the dentalizing influence of the following *p* (cf. ME. *lenþe*, All. Poems, ii. 425, and Pricke of Consc. 5899 ; the forms *strenðe*, *strenþe* frequently occur in Laz., Ancr. Riw., All. Poems, and other ME. records).

§ 288. *Final n* has also generally remained : *den den*, *don* (< *do + on*) to put on, *miūn* moon, *əbiūn* above, *plæn* plain.

NOTE. *Final n* has also been preserved in two compounds : *olin-buš* (< OE. *holegn*) holly-bush, *ratn-trap* (< O. Fr. *raton*, diminutive form of *rat*, ME. *raton*) rat-trap.

§ 289. *Final n* has disappeared in *kil* (OE. *cyln*) kiln, in the numeral *jan* one, before a following noun : *jā nīt* one night, *jā man* one man, *jā ai* one eye, *jā eg* one egg (note that the *a* of *jan* has undergone compensation lengthening, § 403).

The *n* of the indefinite article always disappears when the following word begins with a consonant, but also frequently before a following vowel : *ə man* a man, *ə bār̃n* a child, *ə apl* an apple, *ə oistər* an oyster.

The *n* of the prepositions *in*, *on* (*ə*, *ə(n)*) disappears before a consonant : *i(ə) t̃fild* in the field, *i træn* in the rain, *i(ə) t̃ʰʉs* in the house (§ 467).

§ 290. *Final* and *medial n* in unstressed syllables often becomes *m* through partial assimilation with a preceding bilabial consonant :

fipms fivepence, *þrepms* threepence, *jubm* oven, *lebm* eleven, *mapm* (< *may + happen*) perhaps, *opm* to open, *sebm* seven.

ŋ

§ 291. *ŋ* generally remained in medial and final position in accented syllables. Note that the Lorton dialect, differing from OE. and standard modern English, has no explosive *g*-element when the medial *ŋ* is followed by a vowel or an *l* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, §§ 550, 922).

fiŋər finger, *iŋlənd* England, *miŋl* to mingle, *siŋl* single, *uŋər* hunger, *sluŋk* pp. slunk, *suŋk* pp. sunk, *šruŋk* pp. shrunk.

NOTE I. The past participle *drukn* drunken, is probably of Scandinavian origin (cf. Icel. *drukn* pp.).

NOTE II. Medial *ŋ* has become *n* before a following dental in *lenþ* length, *streŋþ* strength (cf. above, § 287).

§ 292. *Final* *ŋ* has remained in accented syllables: *brinŋ* to bring, *rinŋ* to ring, *straŋ* strong, *braŋ* busy.

§ 293. *Final* *ŋ* in unstressed syllables has generally become *n* in the Lorton dialect.

In the original formative *ing*-suffix: *dārlin* darling, *ībnin* evening, *fāḡin* farthing, *mwōrnin* morning.

We also find *n* in the ending of the present participles: *diūn* doing, *džumpən* jumping, *runən* running, *siŋən* singing; but this *n* is probably original, a preservation of the OE. present participle ending *ende* (Scandinavian influence may also have been at work; cf. § 248, footnote).

THE LABIALS

p

§ 294. *p* has generally remained in all positions:

1. *Initially*: *padl* to paddle, *pepər* pepper, *pīpl* people, *put* to put, *pwol* pole.

2. *Medially*: *apl* apple, *dīpþ* depth, *kaptn* captain, *poplər* poplar, *spiád* spade, *spiūn* spoon.

3. *Finally*: *elp* to help, *jap* ape, *map* map, *stop* to stop, *welp* whelp.

NOTE I. Assimilation has taken place in the word *kubəḡ* cupboard.

NOTE II. We find no intrusive *p* in *emti* (< OE. *æmet(t)ig*).

b

§ 295. **b** has generally remained in the Lorton dialect initially, medially, and finally :

bak back, **bār**n child, **bek** brook, **brant** steep, **babl** to babble, **neb** beak, **web** web.

§ 296. **b** never occurs between **m—l**, **m—r**, in words like **bruml-buſ** bramble-bush, **muml** to mumble, **slumər** slumber, **tuml** to tumble, to fall, **þiml** thimble.

In French words where **b** occurs originally in a similar position, it has been dropped: **æseml** to assemble, **tremml** to tremble. Medial **b** has also disappeared through assimilation with the preceding **m** in **sumdi** somebody.

NOTE. Medial **b** has become **v** in **mārvəl** marble.

§ 297. *Final* **b** has disappeared in the combination **mb** : **kwōm** comb, **lam** lamb, **wūm** womb, **tlīm** to climb.

f

§ 298. The voiceless OE. labiodental spirant from Germanic **f**, and in a few cases (in final position ; see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 294) from Germanic **þ**, occurred initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally in OE., and has remained in these positions in the Lorton dialect.

§ 299. OE. **f** < Germanic **f** :

Initially: **faðər** father, **fast** fast, **fīkl** fickle, **fwōk** folk, **fwol** foal.

§ 300. Medially before a voiceless consonant: **eft** haft, **sift** to sift, **weft** weft.

NOTE. OE. **f** has disappeared in the word **eltər** (OE. *healfter*) halter.

§ 301. Final OE. **f** originally was voiceless everywhere, but it often became medial in the inflected forms of nouns and verbs when followed by a case or personal ending, thus OE. *cnīf* knife, pl. *cnīfas*, genitive *cnīfes* ; *gēaf* pret. gave, pl. *gēafon*. Thus forms with voiced and voiceless spirant arose of which the Lorton dialect, like standard English, generalized sometimes the one form, sometimes the other.

§ 302. Final OE. **f** < Germanic **þ** has become : (a) voiced in **gēv** pret. gave, **sōv** salve, **stāv** stave ;

(b) voiceless in **deīf** deaf, **kōf** calf, **laif** life, **leīf** leaf, **liáf** loaf, **ōf** half, **šaf** sheaf, **þeīf** thief, **waif** wife.

§ 303. Final OE. *f* < Germanic *f* has become: (a) voiced in *faiv* five;

(b) voiceless in *naif* knife, *kaf* (OE. *ceaf*) chaff, *riuf* roof.

§ 304. ME. *f* of O. Fr. origin has remained: *fībl* feeble, *finiš* to finish, *flū(w)ər* flower, flour.

v

§ 305. The voiced OE. labiodental spirant, mostly written *f*, except in a few cases in some of the earliest OE. records (see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 192, Anm. 2; Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 296), has a twofold origin: it has arisen from Germanic *f* or Germanic *b*. It occurs in medial position in OE., and, when arising from Germanic *b*, mostly remained in the Lorton dialect.

§ 306. OE. *v* (written *f* or *b*) < Germanic *b*: *evn* heaven, *livər* liver, *luv* love, *niáv*l navel, *silvər* silver, *stārv* to starve, *weiv* to weave, *šæv* to shave.

§ 307. OE. *v* (written *f*) < Lat. *b* in loan-words: *dīvl* devil, *fivər* fever, *priuv* to prove.

§ 308. OE. *v* (written *f*) < Germanic *f*; I have not found any instances where this sound has remained unchanged in our dialect; it appears as *b* in *jubm* oven. In this word, as well as most of the words quoted below (§ 309), a transition of final *n* into *m* seems to have taken place, and the labiodental then became bilabial (*v* > *b*) through partial assimilation.

OE. *v* of the same origin has disappeared in *fipms* fivepence.

§ 309. OE. *v* (written *f* or *b*) < Germanic *b* appears as *b* in several words: *ebm* (OE. *efne*) even, mostly used in the expression *ebm fəŋenst* right against or opposite, *ibnin* evening, *lebm* eleven, *sebm* seven (see above, *jubm*, § 308).

§ 310. OE. *v* < Germanic *b* has disappeared in *ez* (2nd and 3rd pers. of pres. ind.) has, *əbiuŋ* (OE. *abūfan*) above, *ənenst* or *fəŋenst* (< *on* or *for* + OE. *efne* + *s* and *t*-suffixes; cf. Pr. Conse. 3678, *onence*) opposite; also often in forms of the verb *to give*, for instance: *gimət* give it me, *i gemə sixpmz* he gave me sixpence, and the past participle *gīn* given; *īd* head (OE. *heafod*), *lāedi* (OE. *hlāfdige*) lady, *lwōd* (OE. *hlāford*) lord, *ōk* (OE. *hafoc*, *heafoc*) hawk, *ōpmi* halfpenny, *šul* (OE. *scofel*) shovel, *wumən* (OE. *wifman*) woman.

NOTE. In *au(w)ər* over, OE. *v* has been vocalized (via *w*) and formed the diphthong *ou*, the first element of which was afterwards widened into *a* (cf. §§ 132, 184).

§ 311. **v** (of O. Fr. origin) has remained initially and medially in the Lorton dialect: *ventər* to venture, *vitz* victuals, *nevi* nephew.

THE DENTALS

t

§ 312. OE. initial **t** has remained both in native and French words: *tanʒ* (or *tenʒ*) tongs, *task* task, *tiʊf* tough, *top* top, *tʊtʃ* to touch.

NOTE. An initial **t** has arisen through the transition **kl** (spelt *cl*) > **tl** (§ 337): *tlap* to clap, *tlip* to clip, *tlokar* a broody hen, *tlʊstər* to cluster.

§ 313. Medial **t** has also generally remained in the Lorton dialect: *biter* bitter, *botl* bottle, *butər* butter, *jistədə* yesterday, *ōtəgiðər* altogether, *ratn*-trap (O. Fr. dimin. form *raton*) rat-trap, *sistər* sister.

Medial **t** in the combination **t+ure**-suffix in French words, which has become standard English **tʃ**, has remained in our dialect (substitution of suffixes has probably taken place; cf. § 250): *feitər* feature, *moistər* moisture, *nætər* nature, *piktər* picture.

Medial **t** has disappeared between **s—l** and **s—n**.

s—l: *busl* bustle, *brusl* to bristle, *kasl* castle, *puʃl* thistle, *prosl* (OE. *brōstle*) thrush, *wusl* to whistle.

s—n: *brusn*, *broʃn* pp. burst, *fasn* to fasten, *lisn* to listen, *prosn*, *puʃn* pp. thrust.

§ 314. Final **t** has generally remained in the Lorton dialect:

druft drought, *et* hot, *fift* (OE. *fifta*) fifth, *lat* (OE. *lætt*) lath, *sikst* (OE. *si(e)xta*) sixth, *ʃift* shirt, *siʊt* soot, *tairənt* tyrant.

Weak preterites and past participles also usually end in **t** (cf. Acc., § 455): *kīpt* pret. kept, *kript* pret. crept, *wedit* pp. wedded, *meīnt* pret. meant, *nīlt* pret. and pp. knelt, *telt* pret. and pp. told.

NOTE I. Final **t** becomes voiced (**d**) in unaccented position when followed by the principal accent, and when the following word begins on a vowel in word-groups like: *gid*~*id*~*ʊnt* get it out, *led*~*it* stop let it stop, *gid*~*up* get up, *pud*~*i*~*dʊn* put it down, *ʃʊd*~*up* shut up.

NOTE II. We find an excrescent final **t** in *ōst* hoarse, *sārment* sermon, *skruft* scruff, and occasionally in *janst* (but mostly *jans*) once, *sʊdənt* sudden, *twaist* twice.

NOTE III. There are traces of a softening of **t** before a following

r-suffix in words like *stūṭər* to stutter, *fluṭər* to flutter (cf. further *ḍ*, § 317).

d

§ 315. OE. initial *d* has remained in the Lorton dialect :

dæ day, *deīp* deep, *deīpþ* depth, *dip* to dip, *drīnk* to drink, *drop* drop, *duv* dove.

NOTE. An initial *d* has arisen through the transition *gl* > *dl* in words like *dlad* glad, *dlisn* to glisten, *dlu(w)ər* to glower (§ 352, c, cf. also § 337).

§ 316. Medial *d* has remained unchanged, except when it was followed by an r-suffix in intervocalic position (cf. below, § 317) :

didl to confuse (§ 148), *jondər* yonder, *midl* middle, *sindər* cinder, *undər* under, *undrəd* hundred, *wandər* to wander.

§ 317. When intervocalic *d* is followed by an r-suffix it has become *ḍ* (§ 37) ; this *ḍ* is not a *d* followed by *ð* but rather a softened interdental stop, midway between *d* and *ð*. This *ḍ* also represents OE. intervocalic *ð* in the same position, and forms one of the most characteristic features of the Lorton dialect as well as of the surrounding dialectal varieties (cf. Hirst, *A Gram. of the Kendal Dial.*, § 286 ; Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 297 ; Ellis, *E. E. Pr.*, pp. 555-7). According to Wright, this *ḍ*-sound has arisen from *ð* ; this *ð* before a following r-suffix in the first instance represented both OE. original *ð* in words like *other*, *rather*, *leather*, and OE. *d* in words like *father*, *mother*, and the *ḍ* of our dialect therefore should be looked upon as an intermediate stage of the transition *ð* > *d*.

There are, however, several facts that make this theory rather doubtful as far as original *d* is concerned. Thus, for instance, we find the same softening of the *d* before an r-suffix in French words like *kənsidər* to consider. In the Kendal dialect *ḍ* also occurs before a following *r* in words like *ḍrā* to draw, *ḍrai* dry, *ḍri* tedious, *ḍriəm* dream. Furthermore this softening also affects the dental *t* in the same position¹ (cf. 'A Phonology of the Cumbr. Dialect', by S. Dickson-Brown, p. xxiv, in *A Glossary of the Dial. of Cumberland*, by Dickinson and Prevost) in words like *fluṭər* to flutter, *stūṭər* to stutter. These facts seem to point out that we simply have to do with an r-influence on the dental, thus described by S. Dickson-Brown : 'When the *d* or *t* has been

¹ I have found traces of this *ṭ* before a following *r* in the Lorton dialect, although not so distinct as in the case of *d* (cf. § 314, note III).

formed, the tip of the tongue in passing to the *r*-position is not drawn at once away from but slides down the back of the upper teeth, and thus the *dh* or *th* comes into existence.' It is therefore quite probable, as far as original *d* is concerned, that there has been no transition *d* > *ð*, but that the original OE. *d* has been preserved all the way through, although the following *r* has caused a gradual softening. As for original intervocalic *ð* in the same position, we might as well assume the transition *ð* > *d* and subsequent *r*-softening of this *d*, or the *ð* may represent an intermediate stage of the transition *ð* > *d*.

Examples : *aðar* adder, *bleðar* bladder, *brùðar* brother, *fodær* fodder, *faðar* father, *geðar* to gather, *laðar* lather, *muðar* mother, *weðar* weather.

NOTE I. This *ð*-sound seems to occur mostly after a short stem-vowel in the Lorton dialect.

NOTE II. We find Lorton *d* < OE. *ð* in *murðar* (or *mūðar*) to murder (< OE. *myrþrian*).

§ 318. We find no intrusive *d* in the combination *n*—*l* (and in one case *n*—*r*) in our dialect : *anl* handle, *bunl* bundle, *kinl* to kindle, to light, *kinlin* firewood ; also in *þunær* (< OE. *þunor*) thunder.

§ 319. Medial *d* has disappeared in consonant combinations, for instance : *anfl* handful, *ansm* handsome, *granfaðar* grandfather, *grunsl* groundsel, *grunstn* grindstone, *lanlwōð* landlord.

§ 320. Final *d* appears as *d* or *t*, but the occurrence of these two sounds does not follow any definite laws ; final *d* in unaccented syllables and in consonant combinations, however, has become *t* in the majority of cases.

We find *t* in most of the preterites and past participles (with the stem ending in a consonant) : *kilt* killed, *nilt* knelt, *filt* felt, *sīmt* seemed, *telt* told, *wedit* wedded (see further Accidence, § 455).

§ 321. In the following words *d* and *t* are used promiscuously : *biint* or *əint* behind, *bijont* beyond, *irənt* errand, *foræt* forward, *kūstæt* custard, *ūzbənt* husband, *wōtšæt* orchard, *wusæt* worsted.

§ 322. Final *d* nearly always remains in the combination *nd* in accented syllables : *and* hand, *bind* to bind, *blind* blind, *band*, *bund* pret. and pp. bound, *fand*, *fund* pret. and pp. found, *wand*, *wund* pret. and pp. wound.

NOTE I. Final *d* mostly disappears in *ən* and (unaccented form), and often in *þunzn* thousand.

NOTE II. An excrescent *d* is occasionally heard in *dr̥und* to drown, *g̥und* gown, *s̥und* sound.

p, ƿ

§ 323. The OE. dental spirant, written *p* or *ƿ* promiscuously, was probably voiceless everywhere, except medially between voiced sounds, and has had the following development in the Lorton dialect :

§ 324. *Initially* it has remained voiceless, except in some words which are generally used in unstressed position, where it has become voiced ; such words are pronouns and certain adverbs (cf. below) :

pi̥sl (or *p̥isl*) thistle, *p̥ū(r)zde* Thursday, *p̥um* thumb, *p̥uuzn(d)* thousand.

§ 325. The following pronouns and adverbs which earlier had double forms, one stressed with voiceless spirant (*p*), the other unstressed with voiced spirant (*ƿ*), have all generalized the last-mentioned form (with *ƿ*) in the Lorton dialect :

ƿai (unaccented *ƿi*) thy, *ƿan* (*ƿen*) then, *ƿat* pron. that, *ƿem* them, *ƿis* this, *ƿi̥ar* there, *ƿō* though, *ƿu* (unaccented *ƿu*) thou.

NOTE I. On the definite article (*t*) and its origin see below, Acc., § 386.

NOTE II. The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. *ƿu* (*ƿu*) has become *tə* when used interrogatively: *astə s̥in^əm* hast thou seen him? *wiltə diūt* wilt thou do it?

NOTE III. Initial *p* has disappeared before *w* in the words *waŋ* (OE. *ƿwang*) thong, *witl* (OE. *ƿwitan* to cut, ME. *ƿwitel* knife) to whittle, to cut with a knife.

§ 326. Medial OE. voiced dental spirant (*ð*) has generally become *ɖ* or *d* :

1. We find *ɖ* in intervocalic position before an *er*-suffix (on the origin and nature of this sound see § 317 above): *feɖər* feather, *leɖər* leather, *uɖər* other, *weɖər* whether.

2. We find *d*, *ɖ* in *fāɖin* farthing, *fadm* fathom, *myɖər* (or *m̥ɖər*) murder, *smidi* smithy. Note that there are many instances of this transition *p* > *d* in OE. (Sievers, *Angelsächsische Gram.*, § 201).

NOTE. Medial OE. dental spirant has disappeared in *tliáz* clothes, and usually in *muns* months.

§ 327. The Lorton dialect mostly agrees with standard English in the treatment of final dental spirant. It is in most cases voiceless, except in a few words where it represents OE. medial *ð*.

We find *voiceless spirant* in *baþ* bath, *brenþ* breadth, *deīþþ* depth, *elþ* health, *lenþ* length, *paþ* path, *strenþ* strength, *wurþ* worth.

Voiced in *bæð* to bathe, *breið* to breathe, *smýuð* smooth.

NOTE I. Final *ð* in the preposition *with* has been stopped (Lorton *wid*), but this form is used only before a following vowel : *gā wid* [^]*æm* go with him ! Before a consonant the *d* is dropped (Lorton *wi*), for instance, *wi biāþ on* [^]*æm* with both of them.

NOTE II. The ordinal numerals (except *seknd* second, and *pūq* third) all end in *t*, having generalized the *t*-ending of the OE. numerals, *fīfta*, *sixta*, *endleofta*, *twelfta* (cf. § 403).

Examples : *furst* first, *fift* fifth, *naint* ninth, &c.

NOTE III. It is difficult to explain the origin of the form *sai* (< OE. *sāde*) scythe. It may, however, be a back-formation from the plural *saiz* scythes (with loss of the dental ; cf. *tliáz* clothes, *muns* months, § 326. 2, note).

THE SIBILANTS

S

§ 328. OE. *s* was perhaps voiced between voiced sounds, otherwise voiceless in all positions (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 203). It has had the following development in the Lorton dialect :

§ 329. *Initial s* has remained voiceless before vowels and consonants :

sai scythe, *sau* to sew, *siun* soon, *smidi* smithy, *striæ* straw, *swap* to barter, to exchange.

s before *ü* in French words (= standard English *š*) has also remained unchanged :

siuær sure, *sugær* sugar.

§ 330. *Medial s* is voiced (*z*) between voiced sounds both in native and French words :

bīzm besom, *buzm* bosom, *feznt* pheasant, *gezlin* gosling, *puzn* poison, *ūzbnd* husband.

We also find *z* in French words before a following *ü* in the *ure*-ending : *mezær* measure, *lezær* leisure, *plezær* pleasure (cf. § 250).

NOTE. It is difficult to explain the dentals *ð*, *q* (for original *s*) in *siðæš*, *siqæš* scissors. Wright (*A Gram. of the W. H. Dial.*, § 310. 2) assumes analogical influence from *saið* scythe.

§ 331. *Medial s* in combination with voiceless sounds has remained voiceless ; this law also holds good when the voiceless sound has disappeared :

baskæt basket, *blosm* blossom, *fasn* to fasten, *lisn* to listen, *rūsl* to wrestle, *pūsl* (or *pisl*) thistle, *prosl* (OE. *þrōstle*) thrush, *wūsl* to whistle.

§ 332. Medial and final *s*, when preceded by an *r*, has usually combined itself with the *r* into a supradental sound *š* (cf. *r + t > t̥*, *r + d > t̥*, § 28), like the Swedish *š* in *kors*, *vers*: *kušn* (with *r*-metathesis) to christen, *wāšən* to grow worse, *siðəš* scissors, *mudəš* mothers.

§ 333. Final *s* has generally had the same development as in standard English both in native and French words (except in the case of the combination *rs*; see § 332).

1. *Voiced*: *an(d)z* hands, *beliz* bellows, *blæz* to blaze, *diz* (3rd pers. sing.) does, *raiz* to rise, *rwoz* rose, *tliáz* clothes.

NOTE. We find *z* in *uz* us, on account of its being mostly used in unstressed position.

2. *Voiceless*: *ants* ants, *šis* this, *flis* fleece, *gīs* geese, *greīs* sb. grease, *mʏus* mouse, *seīs* to cease, *tšois* choice, *ʏus* house.

(On the endings *s*, *z* of the plurals and the 3rd pers. sing. see Acc., § 455.)

NOTE. *s* has disappeared in *pā* (ME. *pese*) pea, *ridl* (OE. *rædelse*) riddle, *tšʏri* (O. Fr. *cérise*) cherry.¹

THE W. GERMANIC GUTTURAL EXPLOSIVES IN THE LORTON DIALECT

§ 334. The OE. *initial explosive c* before vowels remained a guttural explosive before guttural vowels and their mutations (see Sievers, *Altenglische Gram.*, §§ 206, 207), but became palatal before palatal vowels and their mutations. It has had the following development in the Lorton dialect:

§ 335. Initial *c* before originally guttural vowels has remained an explosive in the Lorton dialect:

kaind kind, *kanl* candle, *kat* cat, *kīn* keen, *kiák* cake, *kil* kiln (< OE. *cyln* < Latin *culina*), *kindm* kingdom (OE. *cynedōm*), *kīp* to keep, *kitšin* kitchen, *kiūk* to cook, *kōf* calf, *kōld* cold, *kum* to come, *kʏu* cow.

§ 336. OE. initial *c* before palatal vowels, which in the W. Saxon and Mercian dialects has become an affricate (*tš*), and in Northumbrian an affricate or explosive (*tš* or *k*), appears as *tš* or *k* in the Lorton dialect.

It appears as:

1. *tš* in *tšaid* to chide, *tšap* chap, *tšau* to chew, *tšaul* jaw (< OE. *čeafol*, ME. *chavel*; cf. Old Low German *kafal*), used in the expres-

¹ Probably back-formations from the original forms in *s*, which were looked upon as plurals.

sion **tšik** bi **tšaul**, said of two persons close together, **tšēip** cheap, **tšiz** cheese, **tšikin** chicken, **tšildər** children, **tšin** chin.

2. **k** in the words quoted below. This **k** is probably due to Scandinavian influence in some cases, although it cannot be looked upon as a criterion of Scandinavian origin (see further Appendix, and E. Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, pp. 141, 143).

Examples : **kaf** chaff (OE. *ceaf*, Dutch *kaf*, German *kaff*, Swed. dial. *kāf*), **kist** chest (OE. *cest*, *ciste*, Swed. *kista*, Dan. *kiste*), **kiŋkof** whooping-cough (< ME. *kincken* to pant).

kurk church; this pronunciation is mostly heard from old people and in place-names such as **braidkurk**, **kurkstīl**, the usual form now being **tšūtš**, a late introduction from standard English.

§ 337. OE. initial explosive **c** has become **t** in the combination **cl** (Lorton **tl**) through partial assimilation. This change **cl** > **tl** has taken place in several other English dialects, such as Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands, and in the South and South-western, but also frequently occurs as an individualism among educated people all over England (Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 535).

tlap to clap, **tlā** clay, **tləd** clad, **tliaz** clothes, **tlīm** to climb, **tlūd** cloud, **tlūt** clout.

§ 338. Initial OE. explosive **c** has disappeared in the Lorton dialect before an **n**. The OE. combination **cn** first became **tn** through partial assimilation (cf. the analogous change of OE. **cl** into **tl**, § 337), as shown by the dialect records of about eighty years ago. I have also met several old people who remember having heard this pronunciation in their childhood (such as **tnok** to knock, **tniāv** knave). These forms with initial **tn** (< OE. initial **cn**) are still preserved in the words *knife* and *knock* in the dialects of West Forfar and East Perth (Scotland); see Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, sub *knife* and *knock*.

Examples : **naif** knife, **niāv** knave, **n(e)ī** knee, **nīt** to knit, **nō** to know, **nok** to knock.

§ 339. OE. explosive **c** has remained in the initial combination **cr** :

kram to cram, **kredl** cradle, **krib** crib, **kriṑ** to creep.

§ 340. OE. initial explosive **c** has disappeared in the combination **cw** in **wik** (Anglian *cwicu*) alive (cf. **waiət** quiet, **wišin** cushion, § 380).

§ 341. Non-initial OE. **c** has undergone several changes in the

Lorton dialect according to its position and the nature of the neighbouring sounds. The combination *sc* has had a development of its own and has therefore been treated separately. As for OE. non-initial *c* in other cases, its development entirely depends on whether the *c* has become final or remained medial in our dialect, and the cases in question have consequently been classified according to this principle.

§ 342. *c* in the combination *sc* was palatalized everywhere in OE., except in loan-words, and became ME. and modern English *š* (*sh*) in the majority of cases. But we find in standard English, as well as in the Lorton dialect, several words with *sk* instead of *š*; this *sk* must as a rule be ascribed to foreign influence; it occurs in Celtic, Latin, and Scand. loan-words, or in native words that have been influenced by analogy from some of the above-mentioned languages, in the majority of cases the Scandinavian (see Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 733; Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 119; Bülbring, *A.E. Elementarbuch*, §§ 506–11).

§ 343. Initial OE. *sc* appears as Lorton *š* in some words, all of which also have *š* in the South-Humbrian dialects:

šait cacare (< OE. *scitan*), *šak* to shake, *šam* shame, *šap* shape, *šæd* shade, *šelf* shelf, *šīar* to shear, *šin* shin, *šipæd* shepherd, *šip* ship, *šop* shop, *šūt* to shut, *šūv* to shove, *šrin̥k* to shrink, *šruud* shroud.

NOTE. *šaiu* slice; we find no OE. prototype of this word, and ME. *schive* probably is a loan from M. Low German (*schive*) or Scand. (Icel. *skifa*, Swed. *skiva*, Dan. *skive*).

§ 344. Initial OE. *sc* appears as Lorton *sk* (see above, § 342, and App.) in several words which also have initial *sk* in the South-Humbrian dialects (except *skift*; see below). As for the rest of the words with initial *sk*, see Appendix.

skiūl school (OE. *scōlu*, a loan from Lat. *schola*), *skatər* to scatter (of obscure origin, but perhaps influenced by the Dutch or Scandinavian languages; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, pp. 10, 123), *skift* to shift (the *sk* seems to indicate Scandinavian origin, but see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 126); we also find another form *šift* sb. chemise, which may be of native origin or an anglicized form of the Scand. loan-word (< O. W. Scand. *skipta*; see App.). *skil* skill (O. W. Scand. *skil* discernment, reason, OE. *scilian* vb., ME. *skil*, *schil*, and *schillen*, but probably of Scand. origin; see Björkman, p. 126), *skip* to skip (origin somewhat obscure,

may be a Celtic or Scand. loan-word ; see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 127), *skūȝ* skirt (we find two ME. forms : *skirte* from O. W. Scand. *skyrta*, and *shirte* from OE. *scyrte*, Björkman, p. 128). *skriūf* scurf, may be of Scand. or native origin, but the *sk* seems to indicate Scand. influence (see further Björkman, p. 134).

Most of the remaining words with initial *sk* seem to be of undoubted Scand. origin, and will therefore be treated below in the Scand. part of my work.

§ 345. When *sc* became final in the Lorton dialect it developed into three different sounds : (1) *š*, (2) *sk*, (3) *s* (in two words).

1. OE. *medial* and *final sc* (both appear as final in the Lorton dialect) has become *š* in *daš* to dash, beat (ME. *daschen*, possibly Scand. origin, although the form is anglicized ; cf. Swed. *daska*, Dan. *daske* to slap, beat), *eš* ash-tree, *fiš* fish, *fleš* flesh, *freš* fresh, *weš* to wash, *wiš* to wish, *naš* (*neš*) (OE. *hnæsce*) fragile, tender.

NOTE. The origin of the word *paš* (in the expression *ə paš ə rēn* a light shower of rain) is somewhat obscure. We find, however, a ME. word *paschen*, that may have its origin in the Scand. ; cf. Swed. dial. *paska* to beat, used of rain or water (see Wright, *A Gram. of the Dial. of Windhill*, § 313. 6).

2. Lorton final *sc* appears as *sk* in some words of native origin (on final *sk* in Scand. words see App.). The *sk* in these words is generally accounted for through influence from OE. and ME. forms with *cs*, *ks*, arisen through metathesis of the *sc* (see Björkman, p. 135) : *ask* (also *as*, *aks*, *eks* ; see below, 3) to ask (OE. *āscian*, *ācsian*, ME. *asken*, *axien*), *ask* (*drai ask* lizard, *wet ask* newt) < OE. *ādexe*, *miks* to mix (< OE. *miscian*, *mixian*), *tùsk* tusk (OE. *tusc* or *tux*, ME. *tux*).

3. Final *sc* appears as *s* in two words : *as* to ask (from the preterite *askt* > *ast*), *as* ashes (OE. *æsce*), *asmidin* ash-pit.

§ 346. *Medial explosive c* which has not become final in the Lorton dialect generally remained : *akəŋ* acorn, *fikl* fickle, *sikl* sickle, *twiŋkl* to twinkle (OE. *twincian*), *wōkən* to waken.

NOTE I. OE. medial *c* has been palatalized and become *tš* in *kitšin* kitchen.

NOTE II. OE. medial *c* has disappeared in the past participle *miád* made ; between *s* and *l* in *asl* axle, and *musl* muscle (OE. *muscle*, *muscle*, ME. *muscle*) ; and also in the past participle *tían* taken (of Scand. origin ; see Acc., § 444).

§ 347. When OE. *c* is final in the Lorton dialect it appears as an affricate (*tš*) or an explosive (*k*). In order to exemplify the

deviations of the Lorton dialect from the South-Humbrian dialects I have adopted the following classification :

1. Cases where OE. *c* appears as *tš* both in Lorton and the South-Humbrian dialects : *bisitš* to beseech, *breitš* breach, *britš* breech, *litš* leech, *mitš* or *mutš* much, *pitš* pitch, *reitš* to reach, *stītš* stitch, *strītš* (or *stretš*) to stretch, *watš* watch, *witš* which.

NOTE. Palatal *c* after *n* has become *š* (the *t*-element does not appear between *n* and *š* : *binš* bench, *drenš* to drench, *inš* inch.

2. Cases where the Lorton dialect has an explosive (*k*) but the South-Humbrian dialects an affricate (*tš*) ; *k* in these cases is chiefly due to Scand. influence (see Appendix, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, pp. 144 ff.) : *buřk* birch, *daik* ditch, hedge (Björkman, p. 145), *kuřk* church (Björkman, p. 146), *slek* to extinguish (Björkman, p. 147), *sek* such (see § 107, note).

3. Cases where OE. *c* appears as an explosive (*k*) both in Lorton and the South-Humbrian dialects : *bārk* to bark, *biāk* to bake, *biūk* book, *brek* to break, *drinķ* to drink, *fōrk* fork, *jūk* hook, *lik* to lick, *liūk* to look, *mak* to make, *mārk* mark, *nek* neck, *prik* to prick, *riāk* rake, *rik* to reek, smoke, *siāk* sake, *speik* to speak, *stiāk* stake, *wik* week, *wuřk* to work, *wārk* sb. work.

G

§ 348. A. OE. initial *g* was a voiced guttural or palatal spirant (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, §§ 211 ff.). It was guttural before consonants, guttural vowels, their mutations, and *æ*, but it was a palatal spirant before palatal vowels. Later on the above-mentioned guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, *ȳ* (*i*-mutation of *ū*), and *ē* (*i*-mutation of *ō*).

§ 349. OE. *initial explosive g* has been preserved in the Lorton dialect : *galəs* gallows, *galəsiz* braces, *geḡar* to gather, *giáp* to gape (perhaps Scandinavian ; see Björkman, p. 150), *giávlik* crowbar, *giūs* goose, *gōst* ghost, *gould* gold, *gud*, *gid* good, *gwot* goat.

§ 350. The *g* in *gest* guest, *bigin* to begin, *git* to get, *giv* (*gi*) to give, is undoubtedly of Scand. origin (see Björkman, pp. 152-6, and Sweet, *New Engl. Gram.*, §§ 817-18).

§ 351. We find doublets with initial *g* and *j*, and with a distinct difference in sense in the case of two words. Of these the forms with *g* are Scand. loans, those with *j* of native origin. These words are :

1. *gārn* yarn (O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *garn* yarn ; see Björkman, p. 150).

jārn story, tale, chat (< OE. *gearn*).

2. *garþ* yard, a small piece of enclosed ground, usually beside a house or other building, a fence or hedge, occurring in the compound *stakgarþ* a piece of ground with haystacks, enclosed by a fence, and also in place-names (< O. W. Scand. *garðr*, O. Swed. *garþer*; see Björkman, p. 151).

jād yard (< OE. *geard*).

Here might also be mentioned the following two words (of historically different origin); the first one is a Scandinavian loan, whereas the second one derives its origin from OE.:

(a) *giát* thoroughfare, way, road (ON. *gata*), also street, for instance in Carlisle, *Botchergate*, *Rickergate*; in other place-names, for instance, *Clappersgate*, *Mealsgate*. The word is also used adverbially in the expression *tə git əgiát* to get into action, to get started (see Björkman, p. 151, and Ellwood, *Lakeland and Iceland*, p. 25).

(b) *jat* gate (< OE. *geat* gate, opening).

§ 352. OE. initial explosive *g* before consonants appears in the Lorton dialect as follows:

(a) It has remained before a following *r*: *græ* grey, *grīn* green, *greīt* great, *grūnd* ground, *grunt* to grunt.

(b) It has disappeared before a following *n*: *nat* gnat, *nō* to gnaw.

(c) Before an *l* it has become *d* through partial assimilation (cf. above, *kl > tl*, § 337): *dlad* glad, *dlas* glass, *dlitər* to glitter, *dlīu v* glove.

§ 353. The OE. *initial and palatal spirant g* has generally remained in our dialect:

jād yard, *jārn* yarn, *jat* gate, *yat* (see above, § 351. 3), *jale* yellow, *jistəðə* yesterday, *jōk* yolk, *jurn* to yearn.

B. OE. *g* in medial and final position:

§ 354. OE. *spirant g* in medial or final position after a vowel generally combined itself with the preceding vowel, thus forming a long vowel or diphthong. I have contented myself with giving below one or two typical instances of each vowel or diphthong, and refer to the paragraphs above, where the respective vowels have been treated separately.

§ 355. 1. OE. *a + g > Lorton ō*: *dōn* dawn, *drō* to draw, *mō* maw (§ 99).

2. OE. *ā + g > Lorton ō* or *au*: *ō* to owe, *ōn* adj. own, *aun* vb. to own (§ 160).

§ 356. 1. OE. *æ + g > Lorton æ*: *bræn* brain, *dæ* day, *dæzi* daisy, *fæn* fain, *fær* fair, *mæ* may, *mæn* main, *næl* nail (§ 98).

2. OE. $\tilde{a} + \text{g}$ > Lorton \tilde{a} : *gr \tilde{a}* gray, *k \tilde{a}* key, *tl \tilde{a}* clay (§ 164).

§ 357. OE. $e + \text{g}$ > Lorton \tilde{a} : *aw \tilde{a}* away, *r \tilde{a} en* rain, *s \tilde{a} el* sail, *w \tilde{a}* way (§ 115).

§ 358. 1. OE. $i + \text{g}$ > Lorton \bar{i} or *ai* : *st \bar{i} l* stile, *tail* tile (§ 127).

2. OE. $\bar{i} + \text{g}$ > Lorton \bar{i} : *st \bar{i}* sty.

§ 359. 1. OE. $o + \text{g}$ > Lorton *au* (*au(w) \bar{a}*) : *bau* (OE. *boga*) bow, *flau(w) \bar{a} n* pp. flown (§ 133).

2. OE. $\bar{o} + \text{g}$ > Lorton *i \bar{u}* : *bi \bar{u}* bough, *dri \bar{u}* pret. drew (§ 183).

§ 360. 1. OE. $u + \text{g}$ > Lorton *u \bar{u}* : *f \bar{u} l* fowl (§ 145).

2. OE. $\bar{u} + \text{g}$ > Lorton *u \bar{u}* : *b \bar{u}* to bow (§ 189).

§ 361. OE. $y + \text{g}$ > Lorton *ai* : *bai* to buy, *drai* dry.

§ 362. WS. $\bar{e}a\text{g}$, Angl. $\bar{e}g$ > Lorton \bar{i} : *in* eyes (sometimes also \bar{i} sing. eye, § 196).

§ 363. WS. $\bar{e}o\text{g}$, Angl. $\bar{e}g$ > Lorton \bar{i} : *f \bar{i}* to fly, *l \bar{i}* to lie (§ 202).

§ 364. OE. g often became *h* finally after a long guttural vowel, or *l*, *r* (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 214). This *h* (no doubt originally a guttural spirant) became a labiodental spirant (*f*) in some words of our dialect; thus after OE. \bar{a} , in *duf* dough; after \bar{o} in *eni \bar{u} f* enough.

This transition also has taken place after an originally short vowel in *trof* (OE. *trog*, *troh*) trough, and medially in two words: *brafin* horse-collar (< OE. *beorg* + *ham*; see N. E. D. sub *bargham*; the present form of the word in our dialect seems to have arisen through *r*-metathesis and a suffixal change). Also in *druft* (OE. *drūgoþ*) drought (§ 189), and finally after *r* in *dwārf* dwarf.

§ 365. OE. g after the liquids *l*, *r* when final in the Lorton dialect has given \bar{a} (§ 251); the forms with \bar{a} have, in the case of the substantives, arisen from the oblique cases where the g was medial: *bor \bar{a}* to borrow, *mar \bar{a}* marrow, *sor \bar{a}* sorrow.

§ 366. The forms with an *i*-ending have arisen from the nominative case where g was final in nouns such as *beli* belly, *beliz* bellows; and medially in the verbs *beri* to bury, *w \bar{u} ri* to worry.

§ 367. The ending *ig* became *i* through the intermediate stage of \bar{i} in OE. (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 214. 5); it appears as *i* in the Lorton dialect: *bodi* body, *dizi* dizzy, *eni* any, *evi* heavy, *meni* (or *moni*) many.

§ 368. We find several words with a final explosive (*g*); in the majority of these words the *g* probably is due to foreign influence (mostly Scandinavian), or the words may simply be loans.

1. We find three words of native origin which in OE. had geminated **g** (**gg**, not arisen through the W. Germanic gemination before a following **j**) : **dog** (OE. *dogga*) dog, **frog** (OE. *frogga*) frog, **šag** (OE. *seacga*) shag, rough hair.

2. In the following words the **g** should probably be accounted for through Scand. influence : **big** big (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 157, footnote), **brig** bridge (OE. *brycg*, Icel. *bryggja*, Swed. *brygga*), **drag** to drag (OE. *dragan*, but see Björkman, p. 157, footnote), **lig** to lie, to put or lay down (OE. *licgan*), **rag** rag (Björkman, p. 35, footnote), **rig** ridge (OE. *hrycg*, Icel. *hryggr*, Swed. *rygg*), **ug** to hug, to embrace or carry (possibly Scand. ; see N.E.D. sub *hug*), **wag** to wag (Björkman, p. 256).

3. Of obscure origin are **frig** coire, **prog** food, provisions to be eaten in the field (Prevost).

§ 369. OE. final **cg**, arisen through West Germanic gemination before **aj** (and therefore palatal ; see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 216. 1), has become Lorton **dž** : **edž** edge, **midž** midge, **sledž** sledge, **wedž** wedge.

NOTE. We find **g** in one word : **seg** sedge (< OE. *secg* < W. Germanic **sagja*).

§ 370. Palatal OE. **g** after **n** has become Lorton **ž** in **inž** hinge (ME. *hēnḡe*, not recorded in OE.), **krinž** to cringe, **swinž** to singe (< OE. *sengan* with an intrusive **w**).

h

§ 371. OE. initial **h** was an aspirate like modern English **h** in *horse* ; it occurred before vowels and in the combinations **hl**, **hr**, **hn**, **hw** (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 217).

§ 372. Initially before vowels and consonants **h** has disappeared in the greater part of the modern English dialects and also in Lorton.

1. *Before vowels* : **and** hand, **āt** heart, **ošt** hoarse, **ūu** how, **ūus** house.

2. *Before consonants* : **liáf** loaf, **lwōd** lord, **nit** (OE. *hnitu*) nit, **nūt** nut, **riṅ** ring, **riūk** rook, **wat** what, **wor** where (see further § 268 above, on the initial combination **hw**).

NOTE. Initial **h** before vowels has been retained in the North of Cumberland, owing to the influence of the Scotch dialects, where **h** has been retained in this position, but in the remaining parts of

Cumberland it has been dropped everywhere, although words originally beginning with a vowel or *h* often have an *h* prefixed to them, especially to express strong emphasis. Mr. S. Dickson-Brown, who is one of the foremost experts on the Cumbrian dialect, thus expresses his opinion on the occurrence of initial *h* in Cumberland (in his Introduction to W. Prevost's *Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland*, p. xxv): 'It may be laid down as an axiom that Cumbrians know nothing of *h* as a reliable quantity, and the truth will be vouched for by all—*experto crede*—who have had the weariness of instructing the Cumbrian youth in its usage.'

§ 373. OE. medial and final *h* was a voiceless guttural or palatal spirant like the *ch* in German *ach* and *ich* (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 219). It has developed in three different ways in our dialect.

§ 374. (a) *h* has disappeared altogether, but it generally caused the preceding vowel to be lengthened or diphthongized.

Medially: aut aught, anything (§§ 159, II; 132), baut pp. and pret. bought, braut pret. and pp. brought, dauter daughter, efer (Angl. *hēhfore*) heifer, eit eight, feit vb. and sb. fight (§ 114), flit flight, frītn to frighten, lit light, naut nought, nothing, nēber neighbour, nīt night, raut pp. wrought, rīt right, rīt wright, saut pret. and pp. sought, sīt sight, strit straight, taut pret. and pp. taught, tīt tight, þaut pret. and pp. thought, weit weight.

Finally: ī high, flī (Angl. *flēh*) flea, nī nigh, near, þī thigh, þru through; *h* has given *ə* in olə hollow (< oblique cases of OE. *holh*, gen. *holwes*), but disappeared in fūr (OE. *furh*) furrow.

§ 375. (b) OE. medial and final *h* (or geminated *hh*) has been preserved as *f* in some words (cf. OE. *g* > *h* > *f*, above, § 364, and Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 221).

1. In the combination *xt* in lafter laughter, slafter¹ slaughter.

2. Finally in kof to cough, laf to laugh, ruf rough, tiuf tough.

§ 376. (c) OE. *h* has been preserved and become *k* in the combination *xs* (Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 221. 2):

nekst next, siks six, waks to wax.

THE FRENCH CONSONANTS

§ 377. Most of the French consonants have been treated above with the native ones. It only remains to add a few remarks on ME. *k*, *g*, *š*, and the affricates *dž* and *tš* of French origin;

¹ We also find another form of this word: slauter.

these consonants have, with few exceptions, had the same development in the Lorton dialect as in standard English.

§ 378. ME. **k** < O. Fr. **c** (pronounced **k**) has generally remained.

Examples: **kāḍ** card, **karət** carrot, **kædž** cage, **kiás** case, **kuntri** country, **kwot** coat, **skafæld** scaffold, **sköd** to scald, **blaṅkət** blanket, **fakt** fact, **iṅk** ink, **pōrk** pork, **raṅk** rank.

§ 379. Initial **kl** has become **tl** (see above, § 337) in French as well as in native words: **tlārḱ** clerk, **tlæm** to claim, **tlīər** clear.

§ 380. Initial **kw** appears as **w** (occasionally **hw**, heard from old people) in two words: **waiət** quiet, and **wišin** cushion (< ME. *quissin*, *quissen*); see Horn, *Untersuchungen zur NE. Lautgesch.*, p. 61; as **tw** in **twilt** quilt (see Horn, *Unters.*, p. 61. 7).

§ 381. ME. **g** < O. Fr. **g** has remained in the Lorton dialect (except in the combination initial **gl**; see below, § 382, and above, § 352).

gāḍ to guard, **gāḍin** garden, **garət** garret, **grant** to grant, **grī** to agree, **bārgin** bargain, **iḡər** eager.

§ 382. Initial **gl** has become **dl**: **dlib** glebe, **dlōb** globe, **dlōri** glory, **dliṽu** glue, **dlūtn** glutton.

§ 383. ME. **š** < O. Fr. **ss** (pronounced **š**) has remained in the Lorton dialect (see, however, below, note): **brūš** brush, **finiš** to finish, **fūṇiš** to furnish, **krūš** to crush, **pariš** parish, **pašin** passion.

§ 384. ME. **dž** < O. Fr. **g** or **j** (before **e**, **i**) has generally remained: **dželəs** jealous, **dželi** jelly, **džoi** joy, **džoin** to join, **džūdž** to judge, **džüst** just, **əblaidž** to oblige, **kædž** cage, **dændžər** danger, **tšændž** to change.

NOTE. ME. **dž** = O. Fr. **g** has become **š** in the *age*-ending: **damiš** damage, **podiš** porridge (a corrupted form of O. Fr. *potage*); the affricate may have lost its dental element on account of weak stress, or—what seems to me the most probable explanation—a substitution of the *ish*-suffix for original *-age* has taken place.

§ 385. ME. **tš** < O. Fr. **ch** has remained in the Lorton dialect: **tšans** chance, **tšapl** chapel, **tšārm** charm, **tšæn** chain, **tšær** chair, **tšimlə** chimney, **preitš** to preach, **tūtš** to touch, **sātš** to search.

NOTE. The affricate has lost its dental element finally after **n** in **branš** branch, **trenš** trench.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER VII

ARTICLES

§ 386. The definite article in Lorton is *t*. Opinions differ very much as to the origin of this *t*. It is supposed by some authors to be a clipped form of the neutral pronoun *ðat* (OE, *ðæt*); this theory seems to be supported by Sir J. A. H. Murray (*The Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 26); he points out that aphaeresis of initial *ð*, *p* is a common characteristic of those dialects which have been exposed to Celtic influence (as must have been the case in our district). If this is true, the relative pronoun and conjunction *at* (*æt*, see § 417) may just as well be of native origin as Scandinavian (as is generally supposed by most authors who have dealt with the dialects of the North). J. Wright strongly objects to the above-mentioned explanation of the definite article *t* (*A Gram. of the Windhill Dialect*, p. 118). According to him the *t*-form has arisen through the transition *ð* (*p*) > *t* on account of its unaccented position. This seems to me to be the most probable explanation, but only part of it, for we must also take into consideration that assimilation with the initial consonants of nouns beginning in *d* or *t* and partial assimilation with a following *s*, *n* must have been at work (see further § 408).

The definite article *t* is more or less distinct according to the nature of the following sound. It is heard quite plainly before vowels: *tūðərən* the other one, *tʏʊs* the house, *tam* the ham.

Before consonants it is less marked, but hardly ever disappears altogether (except in the cases mentioned below in § 387): *tman* the man, *tn(e)ī* the knee, *tfīvər* the fever, *tšop* the shop, *tsārvənt* the servant. It is often hard to distinguish before a following guttural: *(t)kap* the cap, *(t)gutər* the gutter, *(t)kōf* the calf.

Before a following dental (*d*, *t*) the only trace of the article is a suspension (or lengthening) of the *d* or *t*: *t'iād* the toad, *t'op* the top, *d'liʏv* the glove, *d'üst* the dust.

The definite article is very often attached to the preceding word, especially if this word is a preposition (or a pronoun): *i went intut šop* he went into the shop, *i əst muŋki ont rigin* he has the monkey on the ridge (of his house), that is to say, his house or property is mortgaged.

Owing to liturgical influence the Lorton dialect uses the standard English form *ðə* before *lōd* (rarely *lwōd*) when applied to God, and also in expressions like *wat ðə divl dʏd i want* what the devil did he want? *wai ðə aŋmənt diz i kum iər* why the hangment does he come here? and other expressions of a similar nature (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 371).

§ 387. The Lorton dialect differs from standard English in the use of the definite article in the following cases:

The definite article is often omitted when talking of domestic animals or familiar objects belonging to the family: *dog iz ʏut* the dog is out, *kʏu iz il* the cow is ill; and also often in expressions with *siám* same: *siám piŋ* the same thing, *siám stuf* the same stuff.

NOTE I. The definite article is omitted before words like *church, school, grace, bed*, and generally in the same cases as the literary language.

NOTE II. The definite article is often used instead of a possessive pronoun when speaking of members of the family and parts of the body: *tmisəs, twaif* my wife, *iz got trumatiks it n(e)ī* he has got the rheumatics in his knee, *av got ə tarbl pæn i tand* I have a terrible pain in my hand.

§ 388. The indefinite article is *ə, ən*. *ən* is used before vowels, *ə* before both vowels and consonants: *ən apl* an apple, *ə steg* a gander, *ə at* a hat, *ə ask* a lizard (or newt).

The *n* of the indefinite article *ən* is often attached to the following word: *ə nōtšəd* an orchard, *ə notər* an otter; the *ə* is then often dropped: *nʏuns ə bakə* an ounce of tobacco. This use of the indefinite article has given rise to the forms: *aðər* adder (< OE. *næddre*), *ōgər* auger (OE. *nafo-gār*) (but the *n* has been preserved in *næpərŋ* apron).

NOUNS

FORMATION OF THE PLURAL

1. *Plurals in iz, z, s*

§ 389. Nouns ending in the sibilants **s**, **z**, **š** (tš), **ž** (dž) form the plural by adding **-iz** (this **i** is, however, somewhat lowered towards the **e**-position). Examples: **flás** face, pl. **flásiz**; **nwōz** nose, pl. **nwōziz**; **ȳus** house, pl. **ȳuziz**; **diš** dish, pl. **dišiz**; **watš** watch, pl. **watšiz**; **edž** edge, pl. **edžiz**.

Nouns ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant other than **z**, **ž** form the plural by adding **z**: **dæ** day, pl. **dæz**; **tīæ** toe, pl. **tīæz**; **lad** lad, boy, pl. **ladz**; **dog** dog, pl. **dogz**.

Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than **s**, **š** add **s** in the plural: **baþ** bath, pl. **baþs**; **deīþ** death, pl. **deīþs**; **kost** cost, pl. **kosts**; **nest** nest, pl. **nests**; **munþ** month, pl. **munþs**; **paþ** path, pl. **paþs**; **riūf** roof, pl. **riūfs**.

But nouns ending in **f** and containing a long OE. stem-vowel form the plural by changing **f** into **v** and adding a **z**, in the same cases as in standard English: **leīf** leaf, pl. **leīvz**; **kōf** calf, pl. **kōvz**; **liáf** loaf, pl. **liávz**; **naif** knife, pl. **naivz**; **waif** wife, pl. **waivz**.

NOTE. **beīst** beast, has a collective plural form **beīs** cattle, probably formed after the analogy of the mutation plurals (§ 393), such as **gīs** geese, **lais** lice, **mais** mice.

2. *Double plural forms*

§ 390. We regularly find double plural forms of the words **galəsiz** gallows, **braces**, **beləsiz** bellows, the numerals **ȳusiz** twos, **þrīsiz** threes, for instance: **bi ȳusiz æn þrīsiz**, by twos and threes, and often (although not regularly) of other **s**-plurals, such as **wæziz** ways, **dogziz** dogs, **katsiz** cats.

3. *Plurals in n*

§ 391. **ai** (rarely **ī**) eyes, pl. **īn** eyes (OE., WS. *ēagan*, Angl. *ēgen*); **šun** pl. shoes (from the late OE. genitive and dative plurals in **-n**: gen. *scēōna*, dat. *scōn*; see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 334, note, and Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 242, Anm. 2); **kain** cows (now almost obsolete, from OE. plur. **n**-forms, such as gen. plur. *cȳna*); the more usual form of this word is **kai** (< OE. nom. and acc. plur. *cȳ*, *cȳe* cows), but this form is now being super-

seded by the plural s-form **kūuz** cows; **ōzn** stockings (<OE. plur. *hosan*; see Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 278, Anm. 1).

4. *Plurals in r*

§ 392. Our only instance is **tšildər** children (<OE. plur. *cildru* children).

5. *Mutation plurals*

§ 393.	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
	fiūt foot	fit	man man	men
	giūs goose	gis	mūs mouse	mais
	kūu cow	kai (cf. above, § 391)	tiūp tooth	tīp
	lūs louse	lais	wumən woman	wimin

NOTE. Plurals in -s, however, frequently occur also of the above-mentioned words: thus **fiūts** feet, **giūsiz** geese, **tiūps** teeth, &c.

6. *Singular and plural alike*

§ 394. Here belong the words: **as** ashes, **erīn** herring(s), **šīp** sheep, **swain** swine, and also a number of words expressing measure, number, weight, space, and time when preceded by a cardinal numeral. These words are: **fiūt** foot or feet, **šilin** shilling(s), **pund** pound(s), **inš** inch(es), **undrədweit** hundred-weight(s), **ūuns** ounce(s), **bušəl** bushel(s), **jakr** acre(s), **mail** mile(s), **munp** month(s), **wik** week(s).

7. *Nouns only used in the plural*

§ 395. **beləsiz** bellows, **galəsiz** braces, **krūdiz** curds, **lits**¹ lungs of animals, **askinz** banns, **mezlz** measles, **grunz** sediment, **sidəš** scissors, **tenjz** tongs, **trūuziz** trousers.

FORMATION OF THE GENITIVE CASE

§ 396. The genitive case is formed by adding **s**, **z**, **iz**, the occurrence of the respective endings being regulated by the rules laid down for the formation of the plural (cf. above, § 389 ff.). Examples: **tkats tēl** the cat's tail, **džwōdžiz ūus** George's house, **tladz faḡər** the boy's father.

¹ Thus called on account of the fact that when the intestines of an animal are put in water the lungs, being lighter than the other parts, always rise to the surface (**līt** = light < Angl. *light*).

The genitive plural, however, is frequently expressed by adding an additional syllable to the nominative plural: *sum fōksiz uuziz* some people's houses, *tladziz tliáz* the clothes of the boys, *t'fārməʒiz kʊuz* the cows of the farmers.

NOTE I. The sign of the genitive is sometimes omitted (cf. Wright, *E. D. Gr.*, § 387): *mī faðər šun* my father's shoes, *iz muðər uus* his mother's house.

NOTE II. We find remains of the old adverbial genitive in the expressions: *kum ði wæz* in come in! *gaŋ jor wæz* ut go out!

§ 397. The genitive can also be expressed by *on*, *ən*, *ə* (rarely *əv*; see § 467): *od tīd ə toʃ* hold the horse's head! *əv jə sīn t'ʊrməts ə tuðər fārməʃ* have you seen the turnips of the other farmers? *ev(jə s(e)in tliás onər* have you seen her face?

ADJECTIVES

§ 398. One of the most striking mannerisms of the true Cumbrian dialect-speaker is his tendency to avoid—as far as possible—making a definite statement of any kind (see Dickson-Brown's *Grammatical Introduction to Dickinson-Prevost's A Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland*, p. xxxvi). In strict adherence to this habitual non-committal attitude, the Cumbrian is rarely heard to use an adjective without trying to modify its intensity of meaning in one way or another, either by an adverb or adverbial expression of some kind or—still oftener—by affixing one of the toning-down suffixes *-ly* (*li*), *-ish* (*iš*), or *-like* (*laik*). Thus, for instance, *ši iz ə kwīərli kaɪnd əv ə bodi* she is a queer sort of person, *iz ə lāl bit kwīəriš*, *dʒwoni iz* Johnny is a little bit queer; also *ōldiš* oldish, *fadiš* faddish, *pīəriš* poorish, *tlevəriš* cleverish, *šārpīš* sharpish, *slāpīš* a bit slippery. Another down-toner is *laik*: *ə ruundlaik sōt ə piŋ* a round sort of thing; also *pruud-laik* a bit proud, *rūstilaik* somewhat rusty, *daftlaik* poor-witted, *stōrmilaik* somewhat stormy, *kanlilaik*, nice, good-looking.

NOTE. The work *laik*, when used independently, also serves to modify a whole sentence or expression, thus: *watstə diŋ* *ðīər laik* what art thou doing there? *i let isel gā laik* he let himself go, *āl smak ði id laik* I will smack thy head.

§ 399. Another tendency of the Cumbrian dialect-speaker is that of intensifying his adjectives in several ways:

1. By combining two adjectives of a kindred meaning: *ə lāl wī bodi* a very small person, *ə gūt big tšap* a very big chap, *ə ɛnšənt ōld ʔus* a very old house.

2. By means of intensifying adverbs, of which we find a great variety in our dialect (note that these intensifiers, although of adverbial function, have the form of an adjective). Examples: *ə kani gūd man* a very good man, *ə gē fain nīt* a very fine night, *ə tarbl tlevər lass* a terribly clever girl (see further Adverbs, § 466).

3. By means of the words *ʔurə* thorough, *ʔru* (ən *ʔru*) through, *au(w)ər* over. Thus: *ə ʔurə gūd lāl mīər* a thoroughly good little mare, *i wəz fār au(w)ər gūd tə liv laŋ* he was too good to live long, *i wəz dʒanik ʔru ən ʔru* he was honest (genuine) through and through.

NOTE. Intensity is also often expressed by means of metaphorical expressions or similes, in which our dialect abounds. I cannot forgo drawing the reader's attention to some of the most expressive ones: *liánli əz ə mailstián* lonely as a milestone, *kriúkt əz ə dogz aind leg* crooked as a dog's hind leg, *daft əz ə jat ət opmz biáp wəz* foolish as a gate that opens both ways, *fat əz ə tēliəs giús* fat as a tailor's goose, *grīdi əz ə riák* greedy as a rake, *lāzi əz ə stī* lazy as a ladder, *plān əz ə jat stuup* plain as a gate-post. For further information on the subject see Dr. E. W. Prevost's interesting and exhaustive list of Cumbrian similes and proverbial expressions (*A Supplement to the Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland*, pp. 13-21).

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

§ 400. The comparative is formed by adding *-ər*, the superlative by adding *-əst*, to the positive. The comparison by *māər* more, and *miást* most, is rarely used. Adjectives consisting of two or more syllables also mostly form the comparative and superlative by adding *-ər*, *-əst*; adjectives of this kind, however, are very rare in our dialect. Examples: *ōld* old, *ōldər*, *ōldəst*; *smō* small, *smōər*, *smōəst*; *juŋ* young, *juŋər*, *juŋəst*; *fār* far, *fārər*, *fārəst*.

The following adjectives are compared irregularly, but have also

developed regular forms in -ær, -æst, which are used nearly as often as the irregular ones.

gùd good	{ betær gùdær	best gùdæst
bad bad	{ wār or wāš (see note) badær	wāšt badæst
lāl little	{ les lālær	līst lālæst
meni (or moni) } mutš (or mitš) }	mār	miāst
liát late	liátær	{ liátæst last
nār near	nārær	{ nāræst nikst (or nekst)

NOTE. The form wār worse, probably is of Scandinavian origin ; cf. Icelandic *verr* worse, a form that would regularly give Lorton wār (with the usual change of initial *v* > *w* in loan-words) ; cf. also Danish *værre*, Swedish *värre*.

§ 401. Some Lorton adjectives can also be compared by adding -mær, -mæst to the positive or comparative. mær and mæst are, of course, weakened forms of mār more, miāst most. (We find an analogous case in standard English *former* and *foremost*.) Examples: gùd good, betærmær, betærmæst ; lō low, lōmær, lōmæst. This kind of comparison is also used to form comparative and superlative adjective forms of other words than adjectives. Thus : topmær higher, topmæst highest ; undærmær lower down, undærmæst lowest ; in the same sense also bodmær, bodmæst (formed from bodm bottom).

NUMERALS

§ 402. CARDINAL	ORDINAL
jan (or jā, cf. below) one	fušt
tju two	seknd
þrī three	pūđ
fau(w)ær four	faut
faiṽ five	fift
siks six	sikst
sebm seven	sebmt
eit eight	eit'
nain nine	naint
ten ten	tent (or tenþ, see below)
lebm eleven	lebmt
twelv twelve	twelft

CARDINAL

þyṭin thirteen
 fauṭin fourteen
 fiṭin fifteen
 sikstīn sixteen
 sebmṭīn seventeen
 eitīn eighteen
 naintīn nineteen
 twenti twenty
 twentijan (see below) twenty-one
 twentitū („ „) twenty-two
 þṭi thirty
 foṭi forty
 fiṭi fifty
 siksti sixty
 sebmṭi seventy
 eiti eighty
 nainti ninety
 undræd hundred
 þuzn(d) thousand

ORDINAL

þyṭint
 fauṭint
 fiṭint
 sikstint
 sebmṭint
 eitint
 naintint
 twentiþ
 twentifūst
 twentiseknd
 þṭiþ
 foṭiþ
 fiṭiþ (or fiṭiæt)
 sikstiþ
 sebmṭiþ
 eitiþ
 naintiþ
 undræþ
 þuzn(d)þ

§ 403. The *n* of *jan* one, is dropped and the *a* is lengthened (>*jā*) when this cardinal is used attributively: *jā ai* one eye, *jā man* one man.

The ordinals *twentijan*, *twentitū*, *twentiþrī*, &c., are used only when counting, otherwise always *jan æn twenti*, *tū æn twenti*, &c.

The ordinals 1–19, except *seknd* and *þūḍ*, and also sometimes *fiṭiþ* (*fiṭiæt*) fiftieth, have all generalized the *t*-ending of the OE. ordinals *fīfta*, *sīxta*, *en(d)le(o)fta*, and *twelfta*, just as standard English has formed the ordinals *fifth*, *sixth*, *eleventh*, *twelfth* after the analogy of the OE. ordinals in *-þ*, such as *fēowerþa*, *seofopa*, *tēopa*. The only ordinal (except *fiṭiþ*, *fiṭiæt*; see above) with double forms in *-t* and *-þ* is *ten*; *tent* is used attributively, otherwise always *tenþ*, which should be looked upon as a loan from standard English.

§ 404. The fractional numerals are: *ōf* half, *ə þūḍ* a third, *ə kwāter* a quarter, *ə faut* a fourth, *ə fiṭ* a fifth, &c.

§ 405. Numerals in compounds: *ōpni* halfpenny, *ōpəþ* halfpenny-worth, *tupms* twopence, *þrəpms* threepence, *faupms* fourpence, *fiþms* fivepence.

PRONOUNS

PERSONAL

§ 406.

*First Person**Singular**Plural*Nom. *ā* (a) I

wī (wi, wə) we

Dative

mi (mi, mə) me

ûz (əz, z, s) us

Accusative

*Second Person**Singular**Plural*Nom. *ð̥u* (ð̥, ðə, tə,

j̥u, j̥ə (jə) you

see below, § 408) thou

Dative

ð̥i (ðə) thee

j̥u, j̥ə (jə) you

Accusative

*Third Person**Masc.**Fem.**Neut.*Nom. *ī* (i, ə) he

šī (ši) she

it (t) it

Dat.

im (əm, m) him

ȳr (ȳr, ər) her

it (t) it

Acc.

*Plural*Nom. *ðe* (ðə)Dat. } *ðem* (ðəm, əm)

Acc.

(The secondary and unstressed forms are in parentheses.)

§ 407. *1st Person.* The form *ā* (a) of the 1st person singular has arisen through monophthongization of the ai-diphthong (see above, § 190, note II).

Examples are: *āz gān tə s(ə)ī ʔəm əstid ə ð̥i* I am going to see him instead of thee, *sud ʔa gā ʔut* shall I go out? *i gemə ə šilin* he gave me a shilling, *kānt wə diȳt n̥u* can't we do it now? *i wi divənt j̥ul əv t̥u(u)* if we don't you'll have to, *lets diȳt waiətli* let us do it quietly, *i sō ûz bət nin ə t̥ud̥ər* lot he saw us but none of the other lot.

NOTE. The objective form (ûz) of the 1st pers. plural is often used instead of the nom. and acc. of the sing. (*ā, mī*): *givz ən apl* give me an apple, *wō mun əz eks* whom must I ask? *wor kən əz put up ət* where can I put up?

§ 408. *2nd Person.* The weak form *tə* of the 2nd pers. sing. is only used interrogatively in unaccented position; the *t* of this

form has probably arisen through assimilation with the t-ending in verb-forms like *āt* art, *aut* ought, *dušt* durst, and partial assimilation with the s-ending of the 3rd pers. sing., which ending is often extended to all three persons of the pres. sing. Professor Wright (*A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, p. 118) ascribes this transition of *þ* into *t* of the form *ta*, *tə* solely to the unaccented position of the pronoun, basing his theory on the fact that there are only three verbal forms ending in *t* (*at* art, *out* oughtest, *dəst* durst), but he has not taken into consideration that partial assimilation with the s-ending of the 2nd pers. sing. may also have been at work: the effort required in pronouncing the sibilant followed by the dental spirant in combinations like *wants-þə*, *dis-þə* is undoubtedly much greater than in the case of *s* + the dental stop in *wants-tə*, *dis-tə*.

The 2nd person of the plural *jūu* is no doubt a late loan from standard English and has replaced the original form *jī*, *ji* found in the surrounding dialects (see Wright, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 350, and Hirst, *A Grammar of the Kendal Dialect*, § 442), and also in other parts of Cumberland, but the form *jǎ* is sometimes used in accented position, and is still distinctly predominant. *jūu*, *jǎ* is also used as a pronoun of address in the singular, but there is a marked difference in use between *ðūu* and *jūu*, *jǎ*: *jūu*, *jǎ* is the pronoun of respect, used by children in addressing their parents and by servants to masters, whereas *ðūu*, *ðə* is used by masters to servants, parents to children, between persons in the same rank of life, and also to express contempt on the part of the speaker (see further Dickson-Brown's *Grammar* in Prevost's *A Glossary of the Dialect of Cumberland*, p. xxxv).

Examples of the 2nd person are: *ðū mun gā nūu ər il sī ðə* thou must go now or he will see thee, *ur jə gān tə kokməp tədæ fəðər* are you going to Cockermouth to-day, father? *ðūu mun diūt æstīd ə im* thou must do it instead of him, *estə bin tūl tfær ōridi* hast thou been to the fair already? *sistə seest thou?* *distə dost thou?* *wiltə wilt thou?*

§ 409. Examples of the 3rd person are: *if nīəbodi els kānt diūt ī kānt* if no else can do it he can't, *lets sī wat īz gān tə diə wiðəm* let us see what he is going to do with him, *dūdi tel jə aut əbūut* it did he tell you anything about it? *estə s(e)inəm tədæ* hast thou seen him to-day? *ši telt mə ət šī wəz gān to git ōt keltər* she told me that she was going to get all the money,

a sō ūr ən tuḍər las last nīt I saw her and the other girl last night, a akstər tə tel mə ō əbʊt it I asked her to tell me all about it, a fan(d) it ʊt varə siʊn I found it out very soon, diʒə piŋk il diət do you think he will do it? ðə mæd əz wīl wæt forəm they might as well wait for him.

§ 410. The Lorton dialect-speaker often uses the objective case of the personal pronouns where an educated Londoner would use the nominative case :

1. When used as a demonstrative after the expressions *it is, it was*, before a following relative pronoun : it wəz ūr ət dūd it it was *she* who did it, its im ɛts gān nūt mī it is *he* who is going not *I*, ðəm ət dūd it əl bi prozəkiūtɪt those who did it will be prosecuted, ūz ət bin iər sek ə laŋ taim kenəm wīl we who have been here such a long time know him well.

2. In sentences where the verb refers to two different persons : im ən mī sō ər he and I saw her, jʊu ən ūz kən diʊt you and we can do it.

3. When the pronoun is used without a verb in expressions like : wɪts on ðəm dūd it, ūr ər im which of them did it, she or him? Answer : ūr she.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

A. Conjoint

§ 411.	Singular	Plural
1st Person :	mai (mī) my	ʊu(w)ər (uər) our
2nd Person :	ðai (ði) thy	j(ʊ)uər (jʊr, jər) your
3rd Person :	{ masc. : iz, is his fem. : ūr (ər) her neut. : its its	ðær (ðər) their

B. Absolute

	Singular	Plural
1st Person :	main mine	ʊu(w)əʃ ours
2nd Person :	ðain thine	j(ʊ)uəʃ yours
3rd Person :	{ masc. : iz his fem. : ūʃ hers	ðæʃ theirs

§ 412. The weak forms (in parentheses) of the conjoint possessive pronouns are in more frequent use than the strong ones. Of the two forms (iz, is) in the 3rd pers. sing. of the conjoint possessive pronouns, iz is used before a following vowel or voiced consonant, is before voiceless consonants.

Examples : *mi* ōn *u*s my own house, *ʒis* iz *mai* at *nūt* *ʒain* this is *my* hat not *thine*, a *sō* iz *ōld* *faḡer* *jistəḡə* I saw his old father yesterday, *fetš* iz *kwōt* *dun* fetch his coat down, a *met* *jər* *lad* *ʒis* *mwōrnin* I met your boy this morning, *kum* up *tul* *uər* *u*s come up to our house, *av* *sīn* *biáp* *ats*, *bət* *j(u)**uəš* iz *ə* *gə* lot *fainər* *nər* *ūš* I have seen both hats, but yours is a gay lot finer than hers.

NOTE I. The occurrence of the possessive pronouns *j(u)uər*, *jər*, *juəš* and *ʒai*, *ʒi*, *ʒain* is regulated by the rules laid down for the personal pronouns *ju*, *jə* and *ʒu*, *ʒu*, *ʒə* in § 408 above.

NOTE II. *u(u)uər*, *uər* is used for *mai*, *mi* in the same way as *uz* instead of *ā*, *mī* (see above, Personal Pronouns, § 407, note) thus : *u(u)uər* *misiz* my wife, *giv* *əz* *uər* *tī* give me my tea.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

§ 413.	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person :	<i>misel</i> myself	<i>uəšəlz</i> ourselves
2nd Person :	{ <i>ʒisəl</i> thyself <i>jəšəl</i> yourself	<i>jəšəlz</i> yourselves
3rd Person :	{ masc. : <i>isel</i> himself fem. : <i>əšəl</i> herself neut. : <i>itsel</i> itself	<i>ʒəšəlz</i> themselves

NOTE. Besides the above-mentioned forms I have also occasionally heard the forms *misén* myself, *uəšén* ourselves, *ʒisén* thyself, *jəšén* yourselves, *isén* himself, but they are of rare occurrence and probably not original in our dialect (see Wright, *A Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, p. 123).

§ 414. The reflexive pronouns of the 3rd person (singular and plural) are formed from the possessive case of the personal pronouns. The accusative of the personal pronouns is often used instead of the reflexive in expressions like *az* *gān* *tə* *lig* *mə* *dun* I am going to lay (myself) down, *sitə* *dun* sit (thyself) down! *av* *sīn* *mi* *diḡ* *wāš* *džobz* *nər* *ʒis* I have seen myself do worse jobs than this.

§ 415. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
ðis	} this	ðŭr
ðisīər		ðiz ðizīər
ðat	} that	ðəm
ðat ðiər		ðəm ðiər
jon		jon
ðon		ðon
		} these
		} those

Disjunctive forms of the demonstrative pronouns are :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
ðisn this one	ðūrənz } these (ones)
ðatn that one	ðiznz }
	ðemnz those (ones)

§ 416. The adverbs *īar* here, and *ðīar* there, are frequently appended to *ðis*, *ðiz*, *ðat*, *ðem* for the sake of emphasis, but there is no appreciable distinction in use or sense between the simple pronouns and the forms combined with *īar* and *ðīar*: *ðisiār* (or *ðis*) *las kūz þre kokmæþ* this girl comes from Cockermouth, *ðat ðīar yus bilenȝ tȝl tomi brȝun* that house belongs to Tom Brown.

The forms *ðŭr* and *ðŭrənȝ* these, these ones, although now obsolescent in the Lorton dialect, are still often heard from the older generation of the true dialect-speakers. *ðŭr* and *ðŭrənȝ* are gradually being replaced by *ðiz*, *ðiziār*, *ðiznz*, but are undoubtedly the original dialect forms, and can be traced as far back as the first half of the fourteenth century (occurring in *Cursor Mundi* and other Northern records). The origin of this pronoun is somewhat obscure, but two different explanations have been suggested. Some authors identify it with the ON. demonstrative pronoun *þeir þær* those (pl. masc.); others look upon it as a combination of *þe* with *hēr* here (=the here, those here). The first-mentioned theory seems to be supported by the fact that the form *ðŭr* is exclusively Northern, but both explanations present phonological as well as semasiological difficulties (see further N.E.D. sub *thir*).

The form *ðon* that, those, is probably a contamination form of *jon* (OE. *geon*, ME. *geon*, *gon*) and the demonstrative pronouns with initial *ð* (*ðis*, *ðat*, *ðiz*, *ðŭr*); see N.E.D. sub *thon*.

The disjunctive forms *ðisn*, *ðatn*, *ðūrənȝ*, &c., are formed from the simple forms of the demonstrative pronouns by adding *one* (Lorton *jan*, but the unaccented form is *ən*, *n*).

Further examples of the demonstrative pronouns are: *ðem ðīar tšaps ȝr ō rīt*, *bæt ðūrənȝ ȝr nīā gūd* those chaps (over there) are all right, but these are no good, *ðŭr šīp ȝr rīāl ūdȝwiks nīā dȝut* these sheep are, no doubt, real Herdwicks, *ðon trod kūz þre butermīar* that path comes from Buttermere, *jon kūrk iz rædær ōld*, *bæt ðisnz niȝu* that church is rather old, but this one is new.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 417. There are only two words used as relative pronouns in the Lorton dialect: *æt* and *wat* (*wæt*). Both *æt* and *wat* (*wæt*) are used for all persons of the singular and plural, but *æt* is by far the more common of the two; *wat* (*wæt*), although occasionally used for the masculine and feminine, is in the majority of cases confined to the neuter.

æt is also used as a conjunction (= *that*), and in Furness (see Ellwood, *Lakeland and Iceland*, p. 3) as a mark of the infinitive. The word is probably of Scandinavian origin (ON., O. Icel. *at*; see Appendix) and was originally a conjunction (= *that*), but already in the Scandinavian languages it came to be used also as a relative pronoun (see Noreen, *Altisländische und altnordische Grammatik*, § 402). *æt* (*at*) occurred as a relative pronoun already in the ME. dialects of the North (found in the thirteenth century).

NOTE. Sir J. A. H. Murray in *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 194, discusses the origin of *æt*. According to his theory, this word need not necessarily be a Scandinavian loan but rather a clipped form of *ðat* *that*, which might have lost its *ð* under Celtic influence (cf. § 386).

Examples of *æt* and *wat* (*wæt*) used as relative pronouns: *tšap æt a sō last nīt the chap whom I saw last night*, *tlas wat a gev it tʉl the girl I gave it to*, *t'mak ə tliáz æt i justə wīər the make of clothes that he used to wear*.

The relative pronoun is often omitted: *t'šap a meīn the chap I mean*, *d'og a baut jistəɖə the dog I bought yesterday*.

Note that the relative pronouns *who* (occurring in the Lorton dialect only as an interrogative: *wō*, see § 418) and *that* never occur in our dialect.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 418. The Lorton dialect contains the following interrogative pronouns: *wō* *who*, gen. *wōz* *whose*; *wat* *what*; *witš* *which*; *wəɖər* *which*.

The original form *wīə* *who* (regularly developed from *hwā*) is still occasionally heard in some parts of Cumberland, but very rarely in Lorton. A special objective form (= standard English *whom*) does not exist, *wō* being used both in the subjective and objective case.

wat *what*, is used as an absolute pronoun only for the neuter,

but as an indeclinable adjective for all three genders (cf. examples below), just as it is in standard English.

The disjunctive interrogative pronouns *witš* and *weðar* which, are both used absolutely and attributively, but with the following difference in sense: *weðar* (< OE. *hweþer*, *hwæþer*) has preserved its original meaning, *which of two* (see Sweet, *N. E. Grammar*, § 1141), whereas *witš* is mostly used when the number referred to by the speaker consists of more than two.

§ 419. Examples are: *wō dūð jə mīt ðis mwōrnin* whom did you meet this morning? *wōz oš dūð jə borə* whose horse did you borrow? *wat dūð jə tel əm, min* what did you tell him, man? *wat lad iz ðat* what boy is that? *weðar ən ðem tju ats iz j(ʊ)uəš* which of those two hats is yours? *weðar onəm dūðjə sī* which of them (speaking of two persons) did you see? *wəðar šip ʊr jə gān tə sel* which sheep are you going to sell? (if there are only two being discussed), but *witš šip ʊr jə*, &c., might as well refer to the whole flock.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

§ 420. The Lorton dialect contains the following indefinite pronouns:

sum some, *sumdi* somebody, *sumət* something, *aut* aught, anything, *naut* nothing, *əniʊf* enough, *fəʊu* few, *iv(ə)ri* every, *ō* all, *els* else, *sek* such, *sekəjan* such a one, *ūðar* other, *ənūðar* another, *janənūðar* one another, *æðar*, *audər* either, *nēðar*, *naudər* neither (see below, sub *æðar*), *eni* (occasionally *oni*) any, *enibodi* (onibodi) anybody, *meni* (sometimes *moni*) many, *jan* one, pl. *janz*, *nīəbodi* nobody, *nin* none (see § 161), *woivər* whoever, *wativər* whatever, (*man*) *min*, *mn* man, used as a pronoun of address (cf. examples).

§ 421. Examples are: *sum onəm* some of them, *sumdil əv tə gā* somebody will have to go, *al tel jə sumət* I will tell you something, *dūdi sē aut tʊl jə* did he say anything to you? answer: *naut wativər* nothing whatever, *av s(e)in əniʊf ə ðis mak ə dogz nʊ* I have seen enough of this breed of dogs now, *ðʊz ed ə gē fəʊu onəm* thou hast had a good few of them, *nīəbodi els kānt diət* no one else can do it, *estə ivər s(e)in ə sekəjan əfuər* hast thou ever seen such a one before? *aks tūðərn* ask the other one.

I have not noticed any difference in sense between *æðar* (< OE. *æghwæþer* = each of two, both) and *audər* (< OE. *ahwæþer*,

āwþer = one of two), nor between *naudær* (< OE. *nāhwæþer*, *nāwþer* = neither of two) and *nǣdær* (apparently a contamination form of *ǣdær* and *naudær*), *ǣdær* (or *audær*) *onəm* either of them, both of them, *nǣdær* or *naudær* *onəm* neither of them, *wi elp janənuðær* we help one another, *ðurz niəbodi iær æt nōz jon chap* there is no one here who knows that chap, *nin onəm nōd wæt i wæz jeðærən əbʊt* none of them knew what he was babbling about, *wativær jə dié ən woivær jə mīt jə munæt sǣ aut tə dʒim əbʊt* it whatever you do and whoever you meet you must not say anything to Jim about it!

The accented form of the indefinite pronoun *man*, *min*, *mn* is rarely used, but the forms *min* (arisen in unstressed position through the change *man* > *men* > *min*; the *i* of the last-mentioned form is probably partly due to the influence of the following dental) and *mn* are frequently used as a kind of interjectional pronoun of address when the speaker wants to call the listener's special attention to what is said or impress his words vividly on his interlocutor's mind: *a təl jə min iz ə reglær niáv dik iz Dick* is a regular knave, I tell you.

NOTE I. *nin* and *nīə* also have a kind of adverbial function when placed before a comparative in certain phrases: *a wæz nīə* (or *nin*) *wǣš* I was none the worse.

NOTE II. The word *bodi* body, has a kind of pronominal function in expressions like: *ši wæz sek ə lāl wī bodi* she was such a tiny little person, *av nivær s(e)in ðat bodi əfuær* I have never seen that person before.

VERBS

§ 422. I have given in the following paragraphs a list containing one hundred and fifty of the verbs that are now in use in the Lorton dialect. They have been classified under three different headings: *Strong Verbs*, *Weak Verbs*, and *Minor Groups*; the strong verbs I have again subdivided into seven groups, corresponding to the seven ablaut-classes of the OE. strong verbs. This classification has been made from an historical point of view, but, as a matter of fact, the clearly defined lines that originally separated these groups and classes have to a great extent been obliterated by the force of analogical influence. This force has been at work everywhere, and has resulted in an abundance of verb-forms of various descriptions; thus, for instance, *nearly every strong verb* is

occasionally conjugated as a weak one, and, on the other hand, some of the weak verbs show strong preterites and past participles. The different ablaut-classes of the strong verbs have also exercised a powerful associative influence on each other, especially as far as the forms of the preterite are concerned, so that in many cases we find one or even two by-forms of the preterite besides the original one.

Lastly, the analogical formations which have arisen through the influence of the plural of the preterite on the singular, the past participle on the preterite, and vice versa, have been at work in nearly all the strong verbs quoted below. In cases where two or more forms of the preterite or the past participle occur I have enclosed the less usual ones in brackets.

A. STRONG VERBS

Class I

§ 423.	<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Pret. singular</i>	<i>Pret. plural</i>	<i>Past participle</i>
OE.	ī	ā	ī	ī
Lorton	ai	iá		i
baid remain, wait		biád		bidn
bait bite		biát		bitn
draiv drive		driáv (driųv, druv)		druvn
rait write		riát		ritn (rùtn)
raid ride		riád		ridn (rùdn)
raiz rise		riáz (riz)		rizn (rùzn)
straik strike		striák, striųk (struk)		strukn
šait cacare		šit		šitn

§ 424. The preterites in iá and past participles in i are regularly developed from the OE. preterite singular in ā and the past participle in ī. The preterites driųv and striųk point to forms containing an ȝ and are evidently formed after the analogy of the preterites of Class VI (§ 444) (containing an original ȝ which regularly developed into Lorton ių).

The i in the preterite riz has been introduced from the past participle rizn.

The u in druv, struk, pret., druvn, strukn, rùzn, rùtn, rùdn, pp. (the two last-mentioned forms only occasionally used by old people) is probably due to analogical influence from the preterites and past participles in u of Classes II, III, and VI. As to druv and struk, they may be shortenings of the above-

mentioned preterites containing an *ō*, as has been the case in Class VI (cf. the preterites *stūd*, *tuk*, *šuk*, § 444).

Lastly we are perhaps concerned with the influence of the preceding *r* (cf. § 122, note II), which may have caused, or at least facilitated, the change of *i* > *u* (*ū*).

The preterite *šit* owes its *i* to analogical influence from the past participle *šitn*.

§ 425. To these should be added the following three verbs, which, however, did not originally belong to this ablaut-class :

aid to hide (OE. *hȳdan*, weak verb), pret. *jad* or *id*, pp. *idn*.

straiv (< O. Fr. *estriver*), to strive, pret. *striáv* (*struv*), pp. *struvn*.

praiv (Scand. ; see N.E.D. sub *thrive*) to thrive, pret. *priáv* (*priūv*, *pruv*), pp. *privn*, *pruvn*.

For an explanation of the preterites *struv*, *pruv*, *priūv* and the past participles *struvn*, *pruvn* see § 424.

Class II

§ 426. Infinitive.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past Participle.
OE. <i>ēo</i> (Anglian mostly <i>ēa</i> , § 200)	<i>ēa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>

Most of the verbs originally belonging to this class have become weak. Only four of them still show strong forms :

<i>friēz</i> freeze	<i>friáz</i> , <i>froz</i> (<i>frūz</i>)	<i>frozn</i> (<i>frūzn</i>)
<i>fli</i> fly	<i>fleu</i>	<i>flau(w)ən</i>
<i>kr(e)ip</i> creep	<i>kriáp</i> , <i>krop</i>	<i>kropn</i> (<i>kropm</i>)
<i>tšūz</i> chose	<i>tšūst</i> (<i>tšwoz</i>)	<i>tšwozn</i>

§ 427. The preterites *friáz* and *kriáp* have been formed after the analogy of the *iá*-preterites of Class I.

The *o* in the preterites *froz*, *krop* is due to analogical influence of the past participles *frozn* and *kropn*, whereas the *u* in *frūz* pret. and *frūzn* pp. must be ascribed either to the *ū* of the pret. plur. (OE. *fruron*, *crupon*, *curon*) or to the associative influence of the *u*-forms in Classes II, III, VI.

The preterite *fleu* points to the ME. preterite forms *flewe*, *flew* (see N.E.D. sub *fly*, vb. 1), and the pp. *flau(w)ən* is regularly developed from the OE. pp. *flōgen* (ME. *flōwen* ; see § 133).

OE. *cēosan* would regularly have given Lorton **tš(e)iz* ; the present form *tšūz* points to a ME. form *chūsen* (as found in several records ; see N.E.D. sub *choose*, vb.), and is perhaps a dialect loan:

This verb belonged to the weak conjugation in OE., and the Lorton form **braut** (pret. and pp.) is regularly developed from OE. *brōhte* pret. and the pp. (*ge*)*brōht*, but already in OE. we find a strong pp. *brungen* (whence Lorton **bruŋ**), to which our dialect has then added a strong preterite **braŋ**, formed after the analogy of the a-preterites of Class III of the strong verbs.

riŋ ring **raŋ, ruŋ** **ruŋ**

This verb, although originally weak (OE. *hringan*), shows strong forms (probably formed through the associative influence of *sing*, vb.) as early as the thirteenth century (see N.E.D. sub *ring*, vb. 2).

striŋ string **straŋ, struŋ** **struŋ**

This verb is a denominative formation < *string*, sb. (< OE. *streng*) and originally belonged to the weak conjugation.

B. Two verbs of Scandinavian origin (see App.):

fiŋ fling **fiŋ, fluŋ** **fluŋ**

This verb first appears in the fourteenth-century records and apparently is a Scandinavian loan (< ON. weak vb. *flengja*, or perhaps < a prehistoric ON. **flinga*; see N.E.D. sub *fling*, vb.).

iŋ hang (trans. and intrans.) **aŋ, uŋ** **uŋ**

iŋ (< ON. causal vb. *hengja*) was originally conjugated as a weak verb but became strong by assimilation to the third ablaut-class (see further N.E.D. sub *hang*, vb.). I have also heard weak forms of the pret. and pp.: **aŋd** (**aŋt**).

§ 430. The a-preterites of the above-mentioned verbs are original, whereas the u-forms are due to associative influence of the preterite plural and the past participle.

As for the pp. **drukn**, it is no doubt of Norse origin (ON., O. Icel. *drukken*, Swed. *drucken*). Wright (*A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 274) quotes several similar past participles (**sukŋ** sunk, **slukŋ** slunk, **šrukŋ** shrunk); according to his opinion the **ŋ** may have disappeared through assimilation before the following **k**, but he also points out that some of these past participles may be of Norse origin. As **drukn** is our only instance where the **ŋ** of the stem does not appear in the past participle, the latter explanation undoubtedly is the correct one as far as the Lorton dialect is concerned.

The **u** of the infinitive **swum** is due to the influence of the surrounding bilabials.

§ 431. 2. Verbs in which the stem-vowel is followed by an **l** + *cons.*

All the originally strong verbs belonging to this group (see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 499) have become weak in the Lorton dialect, thus :

elp help	elpt	elpt
melt melt	meltit	meltit, &c.

§ 432. 3. Verbs in which the stem-vowel is followed by **r** or **h** + *cons.*

Only one verb belonging to this group has preserved strong forms :

feit fight	faut	faut
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On the infinitive **feit** see § 114, note.

The preterite **faut** is probably formed after the analogy of the pp. **faut** (*oh* > *au* ; see § 132), or the **au** may be due to associative influence of other **au**-preterites, such as **braut** brought, **paut** thought, **saut** sought, **raut** wrought.

§ 433. 4. Verbs in which the stem-vowel was originally followed by two consonants other than *a nasal*, an *h*, or *a liquid* + *cons.*

One of the verbs that originally belonged to this group still shows strong forms :

brüst (būrst or būšt) burst	brast	brosn, brūsn
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brüst seems to be the older form in our dialect and is mostly used by the older generation ; **būrst** and **būšt** have probably been introduced from standard English.

The pp. **brūsn** has been formed after the analogy of the infinitive. As for the forms **brast**, **brosn**, of the preterite and the past participle, influence from Scandinavian forms has no doubt been at work (cf. ON. pret. *brast*, pp. *brostinn*) ; see Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1354.

I have occasionally heard a strong preterite form of **preš** to thresh (OE. *þerscan*) : **praš**, but the past participle is always weak (**prešt**) ; see N.E.D. sub *thrash*, vb.

To these should be added another verb which, although of Scandinavian origin and belonging to the weak conjugation in ME., has passed into the strong conjugation probably through the

associative influence of the verbs *brūst* and *preš*: *prūst* (ME. *prūsten*, *prusten* < ON. *prýsta*; see Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1348), pret. *prast* (*prost*), pp. *prosn* (*prūsn*).

The strong forms of this verb seem to be of a comparatively recent date; N.E.D. (sub *thrust*, vb.) does not give any strong forms of the preterite and past participle.

Class IV

§ 434. To this class belong the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal:

	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Pret. Sing.</i>	<i>Pret. Plur.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
W. Saxon	e	æ	ǣ	o
Anglian	e	æ	ē	o
Lorton:	<i>bīar</i> bear	<i>bwōr</i>	<i>bwōn</i> (or <i>bworn</i>)	
	<i>šīar</i> shear	<i>šwōr</i>	<i>šwōn</i> (or <i>šworn</i>)	
	<i>steil</i> steal	<i>stīal</i> , <i>stīul</i>	<i>stau(w)æn</i>	

To this class also belongs *kum* to come (see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 504), pret. *kom*, pp. *kum* (see § 436).

§ 435. The following verbs, which did not originally belong to this ablaut-class in OE., have been remodelled after the analogy of *bīar* and *šīar*:

<i>wīar</i> wear	<i>wōr</i>	<i>wōn</i> (worn)
was <i>weak</i> in OE. (OE. <i>werian</i>).		
<i>swīar</i> swear	<i>swōr</i>	<i>swōn</i> (sworn)
originally belonged to the sixth ablaut-class (OE. <i>swerian</i> , <i>swōr</i> , <i>swōron</i> , <i>sworen</i>).		

<i>brek</i> break	<i>brak</i> , <i>brok</i>	<i>brokn</i>
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originally belonged to the fifth ablaut-class, but got the pp. *brocen* already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

§ 436. The vowel (ø) of the past participle in the above-mentioned verbs was extended to the preterite and regularly lengthened into *wō* (OE. *ō* in originally open syllables and also in the combination *or* + *cons.* > Lorton *wō*, *ō*; see § 83), hence the preterites in *wō* and *ō*.

The preterite *stīal* has probably arisen in the following way: the short *æ* (ME. *a*) of the singular was first extended to the plural of the preterite; it then underwent the usual lengthening in open syllables (> *ā* > Lorton *iā*), and then again this *ā* (*iā*) was

extended to the singular (see Wright, *A Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, § 371) or the preterite may have been formed on the analogy of the numerous *iá*-preterites of Class I (§ 423). The form *stiúġ* has probably arisen through analogical influence from the preterites of Class VI (such as *tiúk* took, *stiúd* stood; see § 444).

The vowel of the preterite *kom* came, has undergone shortening (OE. *c(w)ōm*).

The verb *swiær* to swear, got its past participles in *o* (*sworen*) already in OE. after the analogy of Class IV.

brak pret., broke, is the old singular form (OE. *bræc*), whereas *brok* is formed after the analogy of the pp. *brocen*.

Class V

§ 437. This class includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or nasal (Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 505):

	<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret. Sing.</i>	<i>Pret. Plur.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
W. Sax.	e	æ	ǣ	e
Anglian	e	æ	ē	e
Lorton:	<i>neīd</i> knead	<i>niád</i> , <i>nod</i>		<i>nodn</i>
	(e)īt eat	(e)īt (<i>ġat</i>)		etn ((e)ītn)
	<i>ġiv</i> , <i>ġġ</i> give	<i>ġev</i>		<i>ġ(e)īn</i>
	(§ 438, below)			
	<i>speīk</i> speak	<i>spak</i> (<i>spok</i> , <i>spiák</i>)		<i>spokn</i>
	<i>treīd</i> tread	<i>trūd</i> (<i>triád</i>)		<i>trūdñ</i>
	<i>weīv</i> weave	<i>wuv</i>		<i>wuvñ</i> , <i>wovñ</i>

§ 438. The verb *git* to get, *gat* got, *gitn* (*gotn*) probably is a Scandinavian loan, or at least influenced in form and sense by the ON. *geta* (pret. *gat*, *gatum*, pp. *getenn*) to obtain (see N.E.D. sub *get*, vb., and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 155).

ġiv, *ġġ* to give, has also been influenced by the Scand. ON. vb. *gefa* (Swed. *gifva*, Dan. *give*); the forms inf. *ġġ* and pp. *ġ(e)īn* have perhaps arisen through lengthening of the ON. *ē* in open syllables (and loss of *v*), whereas the *e* of the pret. *ġev* may be an early shortening of the Anglian *ē* in the plural of the preterite.

§ 439. As for the preterites *niád*, *spiák*, *ġat*, and *triád*, see the explanation of *stiál* stole, above, sub Class IV (§ 426).

The past participles in *ō*, *nodn*, *spokn*, *wovñ*, *gotn*, evidently are new formations after the analogy of the numerous *o*-preterites

of Classes II, III, and IV, and this *o* has then been extended to the preterite, whence the forms *got*, *nod*, *spok*.

For an explanation of the *u*-forms *wuv* and *wuvn* see § 139, note I.

As to *trūd*, *trūdn*, they have probably been formed after the analogy of *stūd* pret., *stūdn* pp. of *stand* (see Class VI, § 444), and other preterites and past participles in *u* of the verbs belonging to Class VI (but cf. also Class I, § 423), or the *r* might have influenced the following vowel.

§ 440. To this class also belong some verbs with *i* instead of *e* in the infinitive (see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 507):

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
<i>bid</i> <i>bid</i> , <i>invite</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>bidn</i>
<i>sit</i> <i>sit</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sitn</i>

§ 441. The following verbs, which did not belong to this ablaut-class in OE., have had their preterites and past participles remodelled after the analogy of the above-mentioned two verbs:

it to *hit*, of Scandinavian origin (late OE. *hyttan*, ON. *hitta* to *hit* upon, light upon, Swed. *hitta*, Dan. *hitta*), pret. *at*, pp. *itn*.

nit *knit* (< OE. *cnyttan*, weak vb.), pret. *nat*, pp. *nitn*.

slit to *slit*, was conjugated as a weak verb in ME. (*slitten*). It has evidently arisen through shortening of the *ī* in OE. *slitan*, strong verb (perhaps under the influence of the noun, OE. *slite* *slit*), pret. *slat*, pp. *slitn*.

spit represents two OE. weak verbs, *spyttan* and *spætan*, and the pret. *spat* is the OE. pret. *spætte*, ME. *spatte* (see Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1384); the pp. is *spitn*.

split (perhaps Scandinavian; see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*, p. 582), pret. *splat*, pp. *splitn*.

stik *stick*, pret. *stak*, *stuk*, pp. *stuk*, originally weak, but we find strong forms in ME. (pret. *stak*, pp. *stoken*, *steken*); see further Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1376.

§ 442. To this class also belongs the verb *s(e)ī* to see (cf. § 201. 3, and Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 506), pret. *sō*, pp. *s(e)īn*. The pp. *s(e)īn* originally was an adjective which came to be used as a past participle (late Northumbrian *gesene*, W. Sax. *gesiene* visible). It is used in exactly the same sense in the Lorton dialect, for instance: *jon treīs s(e)īn ə laŋ wæ of yonder tree is visible a long way off*.

§ 443. In the past participles *bitn*, *sitn*, *itn*, *nitn*, &c., of the verbs quoted above, the *i* of the infinitive has replaced the original OE. *ē*.

Class VI

§ 444. OE.	Inf. a	Pret. Sing. ō	Pret. Plur. ō	Past Part. æ (or a) (see Wright, <i>OE. Gram.</i> , § 508)
Lorton :	<i>drō</i> draw	<i>driūu</i>		<i>drōn</i>
	<i>fə(r)siák</i> forsake	<i>fə(r)siūk</i>		<i>fə(r)siákn</i>
	stand stand	<i>stiūd</i> , <i>stiád</i> (<i>stùd</i>)		<i>stùdn</i>
	<i>slæ</i> (OE. <i>slēan</i> < * <i>sleahan</i>) slay	<i>sliūu</i>		<i>slēn</i>
	<i>šak</i> shake (§ 105)	<i>šuk</i>		<i>šuk</i>

To this class also belongs one verb of Scandinavian origin (Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1449):

ME.	<i>tāken</i>	<i>tōk</i>	<i>tāken</i>
Lorton	<i>tak</i> take	<i>tiūk</i> , <i>tiák</i> , <i>tuk</i>	<i>tián</i> (<i>takn</i>)

§ 445. On the forms *drō* (OE. *dragan*) and *drōn* (OE. *dragen*) see § 99.

The preterites *stiád* and *tiák* are probably formed after the analogy of the numerous *iá*-preterites of Classes I (§ 423) and V (§ 437), such as *biád*, *triád*, *spiák*, *striák*.

On *slæ* and *slēn* see § 195 (*næbær*, *flæ*).¹

The shortening of original *ō* into *u* in the preterites *stùd*, *šuk*, *tuk* and the past participles *šuk*, *stùdn*, has no doubt first taken place in the past participle, where we often meet with a short stem-vowel owing to the following *en*-suffix (see § 139, *a*). This explanation may also apply to the short forms *tak* to take, *šak* to shake, and perhaps those mentioned in § 105: *mak* to make, *šap* to shape.

The pp. *tián* has undergone contraction (like *mak*: pret., pp. *miád*; see § 454); the result of this contraction was a form with long *ā*, frequently occurring in ME. records (usually written *ta'en*), which form has regularly given Lorton *tián* (see Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1449).

¹ The *æ* of the inf. *slæ* may have been introduced from the pp. *slēn*.

Class VII

§ 446. To this class belong the verbs with originally reduplicated preterites (see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, § 511). The verbs of this class are usually subdivided into two groups, according as the preterite had *ē* or *ēo* in OE. In the Lorton dialect we find no verbs belonging to the first group (with *ē* in the preterite) with their strong forms preserved, whereas the second group (with *ēo* in the preterite) is represented by the following verbs in our dialect :

Three verbs where the vowel of the preterite has been shortened into *e* :

fō fall	fel (§ 203)	fōn
od hold	eld	odn (§ 36, note II)
beīt beat	bet	beītn (bet)

The following verbs all have preterites in *iųu*, regularly developed from OE. *ēow* (see § 204) :

blō blow	bliųu	blōn
grau grow (§ 184)	griųu	grau(w)ən
krō crow	kriųu	krōn
mō mow	miųu	mōn
nō know	niųu	nōn
snō snow	sniųu	snon
prō throw	priųu	prōn

(All these verbs are, however, frequently conjugated weak.)

The verb *pau* (OE. *þawian*) to thaw, has a strong preterite *piųu* (now rarely used, except by old people), formed after the analogy of the *iųu*-preterites, quoted above.

NOTE. There are two different Lorton words for standard English *to know* : *nō* and *ken* ; *nō* implies knowledge, *ken* recognition, thus, for instance : a *nō* wor *ŋu* kuz fre I know where thou comest from, but a *kenəm* wil I know them well.

B. WEAK VERBS

§ 447. The weak verbs are usually classified according to the formation of the preterite and past participle ; but this formation is conditioned by the stem-ending, and I have consequently based my classification on the nature of this ending, subdividing the weak verbs of the Lorton dialect into the following three classes :

1. Verbs whose stem ends in a dental (*d* or *t*).
2. Verbs whose stem ends in a voiced sound other than *d*.
3. Verbs with the stem ending in a voiceless sound other than *t*.

Class I

§ 448. The verbs belonging to this class usually form the preterite and past participle by adding the ending *-id* or *-it* to the infinitive. Some of the verbs quoted below, especially those with a short stem-vowel, have the same form in the infinitive, preterite, and past participle; of those with a long stem-vowel, some have a short vowel in the preterite, and others ending in *d*, and with a short stem-vowel, show preterites and past participles formed in the same way as in standard English; for instance: **bend, bent, bent**; **bild, bilt, bilt** (see below, § 449). The forms of the two last-mentioned categories (such as the preterites and past participles **bet, led, fed, and bent, bilt**) must not be looked upon as originally belonging to the dialect: they are rarely used by the oldest generation of the true dialect-speakers and certainly should be ascribed to the increased influence of elementary education (cf. Wright, *Grammar of the Windhill Dialect*, § 381).

Some verbs show strong forms in the past participle, arisen through the associative influence of the strong verbs (cf. **kesn, letn, putn**, &c., below).

As for the occurrence of the endings *-id* and *-it*, I have not found it to be regulated by any special law, and have not been able to decide which of the two endings is the more usual one, but the *-it*-ending is, as far as my observations go, more used by the older dialect-speakers than the *-id*-ending.

§ 449. <i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
bend bend	bendid (-t), bent	bendid (-t), bent
bild build	bildid (-t), bilt	bildid (-t), bilt
blīd bleed	blidid (-t), bled	blīdid (-t), blad
brīd breed	brīdid (-t), bred	brīdid (-t), bred
ȳt hurt	ȳtid (-t), ȳt	ȳtid (-t), ȳt
fīd feed	fīdid (-t), fed	fīdid (-t), fed
kest cast	kest	kesn
kūt cut	kūt, kot	kūtn
kost cost	kostid (-t), kost	kosn
leīd lead	leīdid (-t), led	led, ledn
let let	let	letn
lit light	lītid (-t), let	lītid (-t), let
melt (OE. str. vb., Cl. III) melt	meltid (-t)	meltid (-t)
mīt meet	met (mītid, -t)	met (mītid, -t)
put put	put, pot (see § 142, note III)	putn, potn

<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
send send	sendid (-t), sent	sendid (-t), sent
set set	set	setn
spend spend	spendid (-t), spent	spendid (-t), spent
šut shut	šut, šot	šut, šot
sweīt swet (§ 162) sweat	sweītid (-t), swetid (-t), swet	sweītid (-t), swetn
treīt treat (see § 225)	treitid (-t), tret	treitid (-t), tret
tšeīt (§ 227) cheat	tšeitid (-t)	tšeitid (-t)
wed wed	wedid (-t)	wedid (-t)
wet wet	wetid (-t)	wetid (-t)

The preterites *šot* and *kot* have probably arisen through the associative influence of *pot*, and the preterites *let* lit, lighted, *tret* treated, have been formed after the analogy of preterites with regularly shortened vowel (*bled*, *bred*, *met*).

Class II

§ 450. To this class belong weak verbs whose stem ends in a voiced sound other than *d*. These verbs have preterites and past participles ending in *t* or *d*. We distinguish three different groups :

- (a) Verbs whose weak preterites and past participles always end in *d*.
- (b) Verbs whose weak preterites and past participles always end in *t*.
- (c) Verbs that have preterites and past participles both in *d* and *t*.

§ 451. (a) To this group belong the following verbs :

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
īar hear	īađ, āđ (§ 170, note)	īađ, āđ
lig (§ 127, note) lay	ligđ	lign (ligđ)
lāe lay	lāed	lāen, lāed
sāe say	sed	sed
šūu shoe	šod (šud)	šod, šud
gā, gaŋ (§ 156, note I; Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1458) go	went, gād	gon

lāe and *lig* are used both transitively and intransitively without any difference in sense. The old pp. *gián* gone, still heard from old people and in other parts of Cumberland, is being rapidly superseded by the standard English form *gon*.

§ 452. (b) <i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
deil deal	deilt	deilt
fil feel	filt	filt
len lend	lent	lent
leiv leave	left	left
los, lwoz lose	lost	lost
mein mean	meint	meint
šēv shave (OE. str. vb., Cl. II)	šēft	šēft
bai buy	baut (§ 182)	baut

The short vowels of the infinitives *len* (< OE. *lēnan*) and *los* (OE. *losian*) must be ascribed to influence of the preterite and past participle, where the stem-vowel was regularly shortened; the lengthened form *lwoz* is not so often used as *los*.

§ 453. (c) The verbs belonging to this group have collateral *d* and *t*-forms in the preterite and past participle, but the *t*-endings are much more used than those in *d*, which are in most cases due to the influence of the literary language.

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
būrn burn	būrnt (-d)	būrnt (-d)
briū (OE. str. vb., Cl. II; see Wright, <i>OE. Gram.</i> , § 493)	bri(ū)ut (-d)	bri(ū)ut (-d)
brew		
dreim dream	dreimt (-d)	dreimt (-d)
lein lean	leint (-d)	leint (-d)
lārn learn, teach	lārnt (-d)	lārnt (-d)
riū rue	ri(ū)ut (-d)	ri(ū)ut (-d)
sau sew	saut (-d)	saut (-d)
sel sell	selt (-d)	selt (-d)
smel smell	smelt (-d)	smelt (-d)
spel spell	spelt (-d)	spelt (-d)
spil spill	spilt (-d)	spilt (-d)
spoil spoil	spoilt (-d)	spoilt (-d)
swel swell (OE. str. vb., Cl. III)	swelt (-d)	swelt (-d)
šō show	šōt (-d)	šōd, šōn
tē tell	telt (-d)	telt (-d)
tliāð clothe	tliápt (-ðd)	tliápt (-ðd)
tšau chew	tšaut (-d)	tšaut (-d)

Class III

§ 454. To this class belong weak verbs whose stem ends in a voiceless consonant other than *t*; these verbs have preterites and past participles in *t* (except *mak* to make; see below):

¹ This explanation of the *ð* in *los* is probably the correct one (not the one given in § 139, *b*).

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Past Part.</i>
elp to help (OE. str. vb., Cl. III)	elpt	elpt
katš catch	katšt	katšt
kis kiss	kist	kist
reitš reach	reitšt	reitšt
šap shape	šapt	šapt
weš wash	wešt	wešt
piŋk think	paut (§ 132)	paut
wurk work	raut („)	raut

To this class also belongs the verb **mak** to make, which has lost its **k** in the preterite and past participle through contraction (ME. **ā**, arising through this contraction, has regularly developed into Lorton **iá**), and consequently has **d** instead of **t** in the pret. and pp. **miád**.

VERBAL ENDINGS

§ 455. *Present Tense.* The personal endings of the present tense are **s**, **z**, **iz**, originally the endings of the 3rd person, that have been extended to the 2nd and also very often to the 1st person of the present indicative singular.

s is used after voiceless sounds other than **s**, **š**: **wurks** works, **elps** helps, **piŋks** thinks, **sits** sits.

z is used after voiced sounds other than **z**, **ž**: **dreimz** dreams, **lārnz** learns, teaches, **sausz** sews.

iz is used after the spirants **s**, **z**, **š**, **ž**: **kisiz** kisses, **lwoziz** loses, **wiŋiz** wishes, **swindžiz** sings.

On the personal endings of the minor groups see §§ 457-65.

Preterite. The strong verbs have no special endings; the singular and plural of the weak verbs end in **-id**, **-it**, **-d**, **-t** (see §§ 448-54).

NOTE. The **i**-vowel of the **-id**, **-it**, and **-iz**-endings is in most cases considerably lowered and sometimes hard to distinguish from **ə** (cf. § 253).

Participles. The present participles all end in **-ən** (cf. § 248).

The past participles of the strong verbs end in **-n** (see §§ 423-46).

The past participles of the weak verbs end in **-id**, **-it**, **-d**, **-t** (see §§ 448-54).

MINOR GROUPS

§ 456. Under this heading I have treated the following verbs: **kan** can, **dār** dare, **šal**, **sal** shall, **mun** must, **mā** may, **aut** ought, **ev** have, **bī** be, **wil** will, **diš**, **diū** do.

1. Can

§ 457. The forms of the present tense are :

Strong **kan**, weak **kən**, **kn**.

Preterite : strong **kūd**, weak **kəd**.

With *not* : **kanə**, **kanət**, **kānt** cannot ; **kūdənt** (**kədnt**).

Interrogatively : **kana** can I ? **kantə** can thou ? **kani** can he ?
kūda could I ? **kūd** tē could thou ? **kūdi** could he ?

2. Dare

§ 458. *Present* : 1st pers., strong form **dār**, weak **dər**. 2nd and 3rd pers., strong **dār** or **dāš**, weak **dər**.

Preterite for all persons : **dād**.

With *not* : **a dārənt** I dare not, **ḡu(u)**, i **dāšənt** thou, he dares not, **a**, **ḡu(u)**, i **dādənt** I, thou, he dared not.

NOTE. I have also found a form **dūr**, **duš**, no doubt the remains of the OE. u-forms of *dare* (see Sweet, *N. E. Gr.*, § 1480), but I have heard it used only in connexion with *not* : **a dūrənt** I dare not, **ḡu(u)**, i **dušənt** thou, he dares not.

3. Shall

§ 459. The Lorton dialect contains two collateral present tense forms of the verb *shall* : one with initial **š**, evidently arisen through the influence of standard English, the other with initial **s**, probably the original dialect form. We distinguish the following forms :

Present. Strong : **šal**, **sal** for all persons.

Weak : **šl**, **sl**, (**s**) „ „

Preterite. Strong : **sūd**, **sud** „ „

Weak : **səd**, (**st**) „ „

With *not* : Present **a**, **ḡu(u)**, i **šānt**, **sānt**, **šalənt**, **salənt** I, thou, he shall not.

NOTE. *Will* is used in many cases where standard English would use *shall*, especially in the 1st person : **al əv tē stāt nūu** I shall have to start now, **al bi gān tē kokməp varə siūn** I shall be going to Cockermouth very soon.

4. Must

§ 460. To express standard English *must* the Lorton dialect uses a verb of Scandinavian origin : **mun** from ON., Icel. *mono*, *munu* (infinitive) = shall, will.

This verb has only two forms for all persons of the present and preterite, viz. strong **mun**, weak **mən** (**mn**).

Examples are : i **mun əv bin ə fiūl tē diét** he must have been

a fool to do it, *ðu mæn əbin ont buuz ə gæ laŋ taim nuu thou* must have been on the spree a long time now.

NOTE. *mun* (*mæn*) is also used in the sense of *may, can*, owing to partial confusion in sense with *mæ*, *med* (see § 460 below): *muna stop iær tænit may I stop here to-night? jə mæn diə wətivər jə laik you may do whatever you like.*

5. May

§ 461. <i>Present.</i>	Strong form :	<i>mæ</i>	for all persons.
	Weak	„ <i>me, mə</i>	„ „
<i>Preterite.</i>	Strong	„ <i>med</i>	„ „
	Weak	„ <i>məd</i>	„ „
With <i>not</i> :	<i>Present</i>	<i>mænt</i>	„ „
	<i>Preterite</i>	<i>medənt</i>	„ „

NOTE. The pret. *med* is occasionally used instead of the pres. (*mæ, me, mə*): *i med əz wɪl stæt nuu he might as well start now.*

6. Ought

§ 462. The Lorton dialect has only one form of this verb, used for all persons of the present and preterite tenses : *aut* (regularly developed from OE. *āhte* ; cf. *aut* and *naut*, § 159, II).

Examples : *a aut I ought, aut a ought I? i autənt he ought not, autəntjə ought you not?*

7. Have

§ 463. <i>Pres. sing.</i>	1st person :	Strong <i>ev</i>	Weak <i>əv, v</i>
	2nd and 3rd	„ „ <i>ez, es</i>	„ „ <i>əz, z, əs, s</i>

The forms of the plural are the same as those of the 1st pers. sing. : *əv, əv, v*.

<i>Preterite.</i>	Strong <i>ed</i>	Weak <i>əd, d</i>
<i>Infinitive.</i>	„ <i>ev</i>	„ <i>əv, ə</i>

The forms *ez, əz, z* of the present tense (2nd and 3rd pers.) are used before a following vowel or a voiced consonant ; *es, əs, s* before voiceless consonants.

Examples are : *a ev s(e)inəm tədæ a teljə I have seen him to-day, I tell you, av godit nuu I have got it now, əzi bin iær has he been here? iz ʊt he is out, əstə spəkn tʊləm hast thou spoken to him? id gon tə lɔŋn siám dæ he had gone to Lorton the same day, i mun ə dʊnt isel he must have done it himself, ðu jʊst(ə) ev (əv) ə tarbl pæn ətleg thou used to have a terrible pain in thy leg.*

8. Be

Present Tense

§ 464. *Singular*. 1st person, strong **am**, **iz** (see below, note II); weak **m**, **z**, **s**.

2nd and 3rd pers., strong **iz**, **is**; weak **z**, **s**.

Plural. Strong **ŭr**; weak **ər**, **r** (for all persons).

NOTE I. The forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons (present) are nearly always extended to the 1st person, thus: **jə divənt ken tʃap** as **tōkən əbʊt** you don't know the chap I am talking of, **az gan tə s(e)īm tənīt** I am going to see him to-night.

NOTE II. The forms **iz**, **z** of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. are used before a following vowel or a voiced consonant; **is**, **s** before voiceless consonants.

Preterite

Singular. Strong: **waz**, **was**; weak: **wəz**, **wəs**.

Plural. Strong: **wār**, **wŭr**; weak: **wur**, **wər**.

The form of the pret. sing. is often extended to the plural, thus: **wi wəs kumən frē emlsaid siām mwōŋin** we were coming from Ambleside the same morning.

As for the occurrence of the pret. sing. forms in **-z** and **-s**, see note II above.

NOTE III. The form **wŭr** has evidently arisen through the influence of the preceding **w** on the following vowel; **w** has exercised a similar influence on a following vowel already in OE. (Northumbrian); see Wright, *OE. Gram.*, §§ 52, 55, note I.

The plural form **ŭr** of the present tense has evidently been formed after the analogy of **wŭr**.

Examples with *not*: **āmənt**, **āz nūt** I am not, **ðu(u) izənt**, **ðuz nūt** thou art not, **izənt**, **iz nūt** he is not, **wi ŭrənt**, **wi ŭr nūt** we are not, **jŭrənt** you are not, **ā wazənt** I was not, **wi wārənt**, **wi wur nūt** we were not.

Interrogatively: **ama**, **iza** am I? **istə** art thou? **izi** is he? **iši** is she? **urwi** are we? **urjə** are you? **urðe** are they? **waza**, **wezā** was I? **wastə**, **wəz ðu** wert thou? **wazi** was he? **wur wi** were we? **wur jə** were you? **wurðe** were they?

9. Will

§ 465. The forms of the *present tense* for all persons of the singular and plural are: strong **wil**, weak **wul**, (ə)l.

Preterite. Strong **wad** (see § 134, note I), weak **wəd**, (ə)d.

The form *wul* is also occasionally used as a strong form.

Examples with *not*: *ǣ* (ðy(u), i, wī, jə, ðe) *wilənt, wulənt, wōnt, wina* I (thou, he, we, you, they) will not, *ǣ* (ðy(u), ī, wī, jə, ðe) *wadənt, wədənt* I (thou, he, we, you, they) would not.

Interrogatively: *wila, wula* will I? *wiltə, wultə* wilt thou? *wili, wuli* will he? *wilwə, wulwə, wiləz* will we? *wiljə, wuljə* will you? *wilðə, wulðə* will they? *wada, wadə* would I? *wadwi, wədwə, wadəz* would we?

10. Do

§ 466. *Infinitive*: *diá* (dių), *dī* (on the origin of these forms see § 180).

Present: *ǣ* (wī, jə, ðe) *diá* (dių), *di, div* (cf. § 150, footnote) I (we, you, they) do; *ðy(u)* (ī) *dūz, diz* thou (he) doest (does).

NOTE I. The second element of the diphthongs *iá, ių* in the infinitive varies between *y* and *ə*; it is generally half-length.

NOTE II. The form *div* is mostly used negatively (with *not*, see examples below) and interrogatively.

The *preterite* forms for all persons of the singular and plural are: *dūd, did*.

Participles: Present *diųn*, past *dūn*, (sometimes also *diųn*).

Examples: *āz gān tə diát* (dīt) *bi misel* I am going to do it by myself, *iz dunt ōridi* he has done it already, *watstə diųn ðiər laik* what art thou doing there?

With *not*: *a divənt* I don't, *ðyū dizənt* thou doest not, *wi divənt* we don't.

Interrogatively: *diva* (diųa) do I? *dūstə, distə* doest thou? *diwi, diųwi* (dəwi) do we? *divjə, dijə* do you? *dida, dūda* did I? *dīt'ə, dūt'ə* did thou? *didi, dūdi* did he? *didwi dūdwi, didəz, dūdəz* did we? *diva nūt, divənta* don't I? *distə nūt, dūstə nūt* doest thou not? *didənta, dūdənta* did I not?

ADVERBS

§ 467. *Adverbs of place*: *bak* back, *bakwədz* backwards, *dųn* down, *iər* here, *ðiər* there, *ebm fəŋənst* right in front (*ebm* = even, *fəŋənst*, see § 310), *enispot* anywhere, *sumspot* somewhere, *nīspot* nowhere, *wōr* where, *jondər* yonder.

Adverbs of time: *binų* by this time, *eftər ə bit* by-and-by, *ivər* ever, *nivər* never, *jans* once, *jit* yet, *ōləs* always, *ətmworn* (tə moro) to-morrow, *tə dæ* to-day, *jistəðə* yesterday, *tə nit*

to-night, tūðədqæ the other day, ofn often, nuu now, ðan then, wen (occasionally wan) when, siun soon.

Adverbs of manner and degree. Two of these adverbs have the stress on the adverbial suffix: əkoðənlái accordingly, siuərlái surely (this pronunciation is now only heard from old people), mebi (mebə), mapm (contraction of *may happen*) perhaps, u how, u(u)wivər, əwivər however, nobət (ɔnli) only, nothing but, əmiást almost, ənō, əzwil too, as well, wil, wel (see § 108) well, sīə (sometimes súə) so, thus, wai why, lailkli probably, əniuf enough.

Intensifying adverbs are: varə very, tərbl (tarbl) terribly, gē gaily, kani canny, very, ekstrə extra (see above, § 399).

Affirmative and negative particles: ai yes, nē (ne) no, nūt, nət not.

PREPOSITIONS

§ 468. eftər after, əfúər before, ətwīn between, bi (bə) by, bi(h)int, ə(h)int behind, əbʊt about, wiðʊt without, əbiʊn above (OE. *onbūfan*), əgián, gián against, (ə)laŋ said on along (side of), əmaŋ, maŋ among, əsaid beside, əstid on (ən, ə) instead of, for (fər) for, fræ, præ from, intʊl into, nār near, bʊt except, auwər over, sen since, tə, tʊl, təl to, prʊu through, undər, ənundər under, up up, wid (wi, usually before a following consonant) with, ət at.

on, ən, ə: owing to the dropping of final consonants, the prepositions *on* and *of* have been completely confused in sense and use: the unstressed form of both was used both for *on* and *of*, whereas the form ov, əv can be said to have almost entirely gone out of use in our dialect, on (ə, ən) having taken its place everywhere, for instance: wat diʒə piŋk ont what do you think of it? evʃə əd ont have you heard of it? ən tʰop ont on top of it, ʊt on (ən) out of, insaid ont inside of it, tʰiás onər her face.

The same confusion has taken place between *in* and *on*: both were reduced to ə in unstressed position, but in also to i, and these two forms are now used promiscuously for *on*, *in*: ə (or i) tʰild in the field, ə tʰšop in the shop, ə tʰliáp in the barn, &c.

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 469. bʊt, bət but, koz because, ən (stressed and) and, ət that (see Appendix and § 417), if (f) if, næðər, naudər neither, nər nor, ər or, æðər, audər either, nər than (after a comparative), til, tʊl (təl) until.

APPENDIX

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE CUMBERLAND DIALECT

THE sounds of the Scandinavian loan-words in Cumberland—as well as in the rest of the modern English dialects—have generally fallen together with and shared the development of the sounds of native words. I therefore originally intended to treat the Scandinavian and native elements together, but the result of a closer investigation on this point was that, on account of the interesting features exhibited by the surprisingly rich Old Norse element in the Cumberland dialect, it would be more advisable to give a separate and detailed account of the Scandinavian loan-words.

The material used for the alphabetical list of words given below has been derived partly from my own researches in Lorton and the adjoining parts of Cumberland, partly from a careful analysis of the words given in Dickinson-Prevost's *Cumberland Glossary*.

For the historical treatment of my material I availed myself of the material collected by E. Björkman in his work on *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, a work that will always prove an extremely valuable source of information to any one dealing with the Scandinavian element in English dialects.

The strong influence of the Old Norse settlers in Cumberland is also evidenced by the local place nomenclature. Any one who wants to gain further information on this point I refer to the reliable and interesting work of H. Lindkvist on *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* (Upsala, 1912), and also Robert Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London, 1856).¹

The following authors have also contributed to the study of Scandinavian loan-words in the English dialects: G. T. Flom

¹ Ferguson's material is both rich and interesting, but the reliability of his work is much impaired by his deficient knowledge of English and Scandinavian sound-laws.

(*Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch*), J. A. Murray (*The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*), T. O. Hirst (*A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal*), Arnold Wall ('A Contribution towards the Study of the Scandinavian Element in the English Dialects', *Anglia*, xx), H. Mutschmann (*A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect*).

The history of the Scandinavian settlement in the north-western part of England has been inquired into by J. C. H. R. Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, Kjöbenhavn, 1882), J. J. A. Worsaae (*Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Scotland, og Irland*, Kjöbenhavn, 1851), Erik Björkman (*Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, p. 263), and also by H. Lindkvist and R. Ferguson (cf. above, p. 131).

ALPHABETICAL GLOSSARY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE CUMBERLAND DIALECT

-*ǣ* Icel. *á*, Swedish *å*, ME. *ā* (= OE. *ēa*) occurring in numerous names of rivers and streams in Cumberland. Cf. also the Icel. *Landnámabook*, where we find many instances of *á* as a component in names of rivers (see Rev. T. Ellwood, *Lakel. and Iceland*, p. 1; Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, p. 102; and R. Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland*, p. 112). Examples are the river-names *Betha*, *Calda*, *Bratha*, *Greta*, *Wisa*.

adl to earn; O. W. Scand. *ǣtlask* to acquire, with a change of *ǣl* > *dl*, usual in OE. and ME. (see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 159, and Sievers, *Angels. Gram.*, § 201. 3).

āf-net a pock-net, a sea-net (see Prevost, p. 150; Wall, p. 105); ON. *háfr* a pock-net, Norw. *haav*, Swedish *håv*; cf. the vb. *āf* 'to fish with an *āf-net*', and the comp. *āf-bōk* the pole attached to an *āf-net*. (The regular Lorton form would be **jaf-net*; the word is probably a dialect loan.)

ag vb. to hack, hew, chop; O. W. Scand. *hoggua*, Swed. *hugga*, Dan. *hugge* (see Wall, p. 105; Björkman, p. 34). Der.: *ag-wurm* (cf. ON. *hogg-ormr*, Swed. *huggorm*) 'a viper, common snake or slow-worm' (Prevost, p. 151), *agær* coal-hewer, *ag-tlog*, *ag-stok* 'a chopping-block', the frequentative vb. *agl* 'to cut with a blunt knife, to tease in bargaining, to over-work, fatigue'. *ag* sb. is used as a field or place-name (see further Prevost, p. 151).

ansel 'the price of the first article sold, the first use of anything, a bargain or (generally) applied to the money given for the first bargain, a coin given to the wearer of a new suit of clothes (in order to make the suit lucky)'; O. W. Scand. *handsal*, Dan. *handsel*, Swed. *handsöl* (= 'a transference of right, bargain, or duty to another by joining hands'; see Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 29). According to Björkman (p. 242) the Scandinavian origin of this word is very dubious.

aŋk sb. 'a skein of thread or yarn, a loop, an evil habit'; **aŋk** vb. 'to fasten with a hoop, a term in wrestling' (Prevost, p. 154); O. W. Scand. *hŋnk* sb., *hanka* vb., Swed. dial. *hank*, Dan. *hank* (Björkman, p. 212; Wall, p. 106). Der.: **aŋkl** to entangle.

aŋri 'vexed', but especially applied to a sore: painful, inflamed; O. W. Scand. *anŋr* sb. trouble, *anŋra* vb., ME. *angren* vb. to distress, hurt, pain, O. Dan. *anger* sb., *angre* vb., Swed. *ånger* sb., *ångra* vb., with similar meanings; cf. the comp. **aŋer nælz** = nails grown into the flesh (see further Björkman, p. 200; Wall, p. 89). **aŋ-næ̃l** may however be derived from OE. *ang-nægl* whitlow (see Bosw.-T.).

aŋz husks (of corn), awns; ON. *ggn*, gen. *agnar*, Dan. *avne*, Swed. *agnar* (Wall, p. 89; N.E.D. sub *awn*).

[**am-sam** adv. confusedly, disorderly; cf. Swed. dial. *hams* carelessness, *hamsa* to be disorderly (Wall, p. 106).]

ār 'a scar from a wound, a cicatrix'; ME. *erre*, *arre* (only in Northern writers), O. W. Scand. *ørr*, *err*, Swed. *ärr*, Dan. *ar*.

ārbær harbour, shelter (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*: a room, a place of reception); ON. *herberge* sb., *herbergja*, *herbyrgja* vb. We find the original meaning preserved in the Cumberland phrase to be turned out of **ȳus ən ārbær** 'house and harbour' (cf. Icel. *hús ok herbergi*; Ellwood, p. 29).

ār̥k to spit, to bring up spittle with a loud noise; cf. ON. *harka* to drag or pull something along the ground (with a noise); Dan. *harke*, Swed. *hark(l)a* to hawk (up), to clear one's throat.

ār̥nz 'brains' (Prevost, p. 156); ME. *hærnes*, *hernes*, *harnes* brains, O. W. Scand. *hiarni*, O. Swed. *hiærne*, Swed. *hjärna* (Björkman, p. 213).

ār̥væl adj.: 'applied to anything connected with heirship or inheritance'; **ār̥væl dinær** 'a dinner held on the day of the funeral'; **ār̥væl breið** 'cakes which were distributed to the funeral guests'. **ār̥vølz** 'the meat and drink supplied at the funerals'; ME. *arvell* (Björkman, p. 200), 'a funeral feast'; O. W. Scand. *erfiöl*, O. Dan.

arvesl, Icel. *arfr*, Swed. *arf* (see also Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 2; Prevost, *A Gloss. of the Dial. of Cumberland*, p. 6).

asl-(*tiūþ*) a molar or grinder-tooth; ME. *axyltothe*; Björkman (*Scand. Loan-words*, p. 200) supposes this word to be a loan from the East Scand., the W. Scand. form being *jaxl*; cf. O. Dan. *axeltand*, Swed. dial. *akslatand* (Wall, p. 89). This word also occurs in the comp. *asl-trei*, ME. *axel-tre*; cf. O. W. Scand. *gaxultre*, OE. *eax* axle-tree, without the Scand. *l* (Björkman, p. 199); *asl-id* the back part of the jaw which contains the molars.

at (*æt*), ME. *at*, used in three different senses: (1) as an indeclinable relative pronoun = standard English *that*: *tstwōri ati telt mæ jistæðe* the story that he told me yesterday. (2) As a conjunction: *i telt mæ at i wæz gān tæ kokmæþ* he told me that he was going to Cockermouth. (3) As a mark of the infinitive = standard English *to*: *i akst mæ at diūt* he asked me to do it. In sense 3, however, *at* is now obsolete except in Furness (cf. Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 3). *at* occurs in the same senses in ME. (see Björkman, p. 201); it may in some cases be a worn-down form of English *that* conj. and rel. pron., but is most probably a Scandinavian loan < O. W. Scand. *at* which was used in the same manner as a pronoun, conjunction, and mark of the infinitive (cf. however, J. A. Murray, *The Dial. of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 26, and above, Accidence, § 417).

-au (usually spelt *how*) 'hill, hillock', very common in place-names; for instance, *kassau*, *därlinau* (near Lorton); O. W. Scand. *haugr*, O. Swed. *høgher*, Swed. *hög* (Björkman, p. 70; Wall, p. 107).

auz (or *öz*) ME. *haulse*, *hause*, 'a narrow mountain pass between two valleys', ON. *hals* neck (see N.E.D. sub *hawse*). *auz* apparently is the older form of the two, arisen through the usual vocalization of the *l* and preservation of the *au*-diphthong (cf. above, § 96); cf. also Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 30.

avør oats; ME. *havør*, *havyr*, O. W. Scand. *hafri*, O. Swed. *hafre*, Dan. *havre* (Björkman, p. 213).

æen 'to shut up a pasture field till the grass grows again, to preserve untouched, to save' (Prevost, p. 151); cf. ON. *hegna*, Swed. *hägna*, to enclose with a fence, to preserve or shelter, Dan. *hegn*, Swed. *hägn* sb. fencing, shelter.

bag 'belly, the udder of a cow'; *bagin* 'provisions taken into the field for the workmen' (cf. also *bag-šakinz*, Prevost, p. 12),

usually derived from O. W. Scand. *baggi* pack, bundle. Björkman seems inclined to look upon this word as a native one (*Scand. Loan-words*, p. 228).

baiærlō 'a custom or law established in a township or village' (obsolete in Lorton, but see Prevost, p. 50), apparently a Scandinavian loan: the first member of the compound is the genitive *býjar* of ON. *býr*, *bér* village, probably from an ON. unrecorded **býjar-lōg* (see further N.E.D. sub *byrlaw*).

baŋ vb. 'to beat, strike, knock, to surpass, excel', may be from ON. *banga* to beat; cf. Norw. and Swed. dialects *banka*, Dan. *banke*, Swed. *bång* noise (see further N.E.D. sub *bang* vb., and Wall, p. 90).

baŋk 'bank, elevation', but mostly used in the comp. adverbs denoting direction: *up*baŋk = upwards, *in*baŋk, *dun*baŋk = downwards; cf. Dan. *banke*, 'a raised ridge of ground, a shelving elevation in the sea, a heap, dunghill', Dan. dial. *bank* 'a hill, a bank of clouds'; cf. the cognate words O. W. Scand. *bakki* ridge, hill, Dan. *bakke*, Swed. *backe* hill, hillock (Björkman, p. 230).

bārk bark, cortex, is perhaps a Scandinavian loan (see Björkman, p. 230); vb. **bārk** 'to peel the skin or bark off', **bārkn** 'to encrust with dirt, to clot'; cf. O. W. Scand. *berkr*, Dan., Swed. *bark*.

bārn child; OE. *bearn*, O. Scand. *barn*. Although the word occurs both in OE. and Scandinavian its occurrence in the dialects of the North seems to indicate that the Scandinavian and native word were mixed up in ME. (see Björkman, p. 230). Der.: **bārniš** childish, silly.

batn vb. to fatten, thrive; **batnz** 'straw which has been half thrashed, given as titbits to weakly cattle' (Prevost, p. 17). Cf. O. W. Scand. *batna* 'to improve', Swed. dial. *batna* 'to be healed, to swell' (Björkman, p. 202).

baudæstián 'a big round stone or piece of rock'; cf. ME. *bulderstōn*, Swed. *bullersten* (< **buldersten*); see further Björkman, p. 232, and N.E.D. sub *boulder-stone*. The *au*-diphthong points to an original **bolder* (§ 134); ME. **bulder* would give Lorton *būdæð* (§ 146).

bæl in the comp. **bæl-faiær**, 'signal fires lighted upon the Scottish and Cumbrian borders to denote the outbreak of war' (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 3), also bonfire; ME. *bale* a funeral pile, bonfire; Prevost (p. 21) gives a short form *belfire*, perhaps an early shortening of native ME. *bēl*, O. W. Scand. *bál* blaze, flame,

funeral pile, Swed. *bål*; OE. *bæl*, ME. *bēl* cannot be the source as it would have given Lorton *bēil* (§ 162) (see Björkman, p. 87).

bǣn handy, accommodating (used of a way or road): straight, short, direct (*tbǣnæst wǣ*); ME. *bein*, *bain* < O. W. Scand. *beinn* straight, direct (Björkman, p. 40); cf. *gǣn*, p. 144.

bæt (1) an intermediate meal, food (for a man or a horse) by the way; also a verb to *bæt* to stop by the way to feed (Prevost, p. 13); ME. *baite* bait, food, O. W. Scand. *beit*, O. Swed. *bēt* food (Björkman, p. 41), pasture; cf. also the use of the word in modern Swed. dial. *bēt* 'food whilst on a journey'.

bæt (2) vb., ME. *beggen*, O. W. Scand. *beita* 'to cause to bite, to hunt', especially in the sense 'to set the dogs on, to worry or tease a confined or chained animal'.¹ The OE. verb *bætan* would give Lorton *beit* (see § 162) (Björkman, p. 41).

bek a streamlet or brook, may simply be a Northern form of OE. *bēce*, or the Scandinavian (O. W. Scand. *bekkr*) and the native forms have perhaps been mixed up in use. Another form of the word occurs in place-names, such as *bekærmæt* Beckermæt, a village in Cumberland (with preservation of the ON. *r* of the genitive).

benk, *bin̄k* 'a low bank or ledge of rock, a row of peats piled up' (Prevost, p. 22); cf. O. Swed. *bænker*, Dan. *bænk*, Norw. *benk*, the two last-mentioned words also used in the sense of 'a long and narrow ledge of rock' (see Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*). The true native form is *binš* (§ 112) < ME. *bennche* (Björkman, p. 145).

berier a thrasher; O. W. Scand. *berja*, O. Swed. *bæria* to beat (see further Björkman, p. 183, and Wall, p. 91).

big barley; ME. *big*, ON. *bygg*, Norw. dial. *bygg*, Dan. *byg*, O. Dan. *biug(g)* (Björkman, p. 32; Wall, p. 91). The OE. form of this word is *bēow*.

big vb. to build; ME. *biggen*, O. W. Scand. *byggua*, *byggia*, O. Swed. *byggia* 'to inhabit, dwell in, build', Mod. Swed. *bygga* to build (Björkman, p. 32; Wall, p. 91). Der.: *begin*, used in compounds like *tlǣ-bigin* clay-building, and place-names such as *sunbigin*, *niubigin*; cf. O. W. Scand. *bygging* building.

bikær, now obsolete in our dialect (but see Prevost, p. 25, and

¹ Mostly used in the comp. *bul-bǣtin*, a very popular Cumbrian diversion in the old days: to set the dogs on a bull chained up in the market-place, allowing them to bite him to death.

Ellwood, *Lakel. and Iceland*, p. 7), 'a wooden dish or drinking-vessel'; O. W. Scand. *bikarr*, O. Swed. *bikar*, *bikare* a large drinking-vessel (Björkman, p. 231).¹

biȳn 'service done by a customary tenant for the lord of the manor' (Prevost, p. 24); ME. *bōn* prayer, request < O. W. Scand. *bón* of the same sense. On the transition of sense from 'prayer, request' into 'favour conferred, free gift', &c., see N.E.D. sub *boon*, sb. 1 (Björkman, p. 205).

blæc 'pale, yellow'; ME. *bleike*, from O. W. Scand. *bleikr*, O. Swed. *bleker*, Mod. Swed. *blek*. The corresponding OE. adj. *blac* would have given Lorton **bliák* (§ 153) (see further Björkman, p. 41).

blīa-(*beriz*) blue-(berries); *blīa* points to a ME. *ā*; cf. ME. *blā*, O. W. Scand. *bár*, O. Swed. *blār*, Dan. *blaa*; whereas the OE. form *blāw* would give Lorton **blo* (§ 159; Björkman, p. 82, footnote, and p. 204).

brakin bracken, ferns; ME. *brake*, *braken*, perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. *bräken*, Swed. dial. *brake* reed, *brakel* nettles, thistles, weeds (see further Björkman, p. 231).

brandræþ 'a gridiron', an iron frame on three legs used in the old open hearths for supporting the baking-plate (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 9); ME. *brandereth*, *brandrethe*, O. W. Scand. *brandreið*; the corresponding OE. word is *brandrida* (Björkman, p. 63).

briūkt adj. 'said of a sheep or cow with a peculiar intermixture of black and white hair on the legs and face' (Prevost, p. 41); possibly of Scandinavian origin; cf. Swed. *brokig* variegated, motley, many-coloured (especially said of cows), Norw. dialect *brök*, Swed. dial. *brök* pied, piebald used of a horse or a cow (see Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*). The present dialect form points to a ME. **brōk*.

bul bull; ME. *bole*, *bule*, O. W. Scand. *boli*, O. Dan. *bul*. The Scandinavian origin of this word is proved by its local distribution in ME. (Björkman, p. 205). The word occurs in many compounds, such as *bulstaŋ* (see *staŋ* below) dragon-fly, *bulīd* tadpole, &c. (see further Prevost, pp. 45, 46).

bulk bulk, 'the quantity of herring-nets shot at one time' (Prevost, p. 45); ME. *bolke* (Björkman, p. 231), O. W. Scand. *bulki* 'heap, cargo of a ship'. We find the same word in the compound *buksem* bulky (with loss of the *l*).

¹ On the history of this word see E. Lidén, *Arkiv för Nord. Filologi*, vol. 27, p. 259.

būr 'a rapid whirling motion' (or the sound produced by such a motion), 'a short run to gain impetus for a leap' (Prevost, p. 47); ME. *būr*, *birre* 'a strong wind, force, violent pace', O. W. Scand. *byrr* 'a favourable wind', O. Swed. *byr* 'fair wind', Swed. dial. *byr*, *bör* 'wind, fair wind' (Björkman, p. 204).

busk (obsolescent) 'to dress, decorate, to hurry, bustle about'; ME. *busken* 'to prepare, get ready, dress, adorn', O. W. Scand. *buask* 'to get oneself ready' (Björkman, p. 137).

būn (I have not heard the pronunciation *baun*, given by Prevost, p. 36) 'ready, prepared, going to do a thing, on the point of starting'; ME. *būn* 'ready, prepared', from O. W. Scand. *büinn* (cf. O. E. Scand. *boínn*), pp. of *búa* to prepare (Björkman, p. 206).

dauli 'downhearted, lonely, solitary, desolate' (applied to places); ON. *doufligr* 'lonely, dull', Norw. dialect *daufleg*, 'tedious, slow' (Wall, p. 96).

daup 'a bay in a lake, a recess, a precipice'; apparently a Scand. loan, from ON. *daup* (see N.E.D. sub *doup*) 'a hollow or cleft with steep sides', Norw. *daup* 'hollow', occurring in several place-names, such as *Corby doup*, *Howe doup*, *The Great Doup* (Prevost, p. 102; Wall, p. 96).

dæl, **diál**; these forms are now used promiscuously in our dialect, although originally representing two different words with different senses; the form *diál*, however, is more used than *dæl*. The *iä*-diphthong in *diál* points to an original *ǣ* (probably from the plural *a*-forms of OE. *dæl* dale, valley, but N.E.D. assumes 'reinforcement' through influence of the corresponding Scandinavian noun, ON. *dalr*, Swed., Norw. *dal*), and the original sense of this word is 'dale, valley'; it is also used in this sense in the dialects of the North and frequently in place-names. The form *dæl*, on the other hand, is probably the regular development of ON. *deill* deal, part, division, *deila* vb. to divide (OE. *dæl* would give Lorton *deil*, see § 162), and the original sense of the word is preserved in our dialect: 'land held in defined but unfenced parcels in an open field, the ownership changing annually in succession,' one of these parcels is called a *dæl* (or *diál*); also 'a field near a house, a croft'. The comp. *dælmæn* (or *diálmæn*) probably originally meant the owner of a certain part or *dæl* of land (on the words *dale*, *dalemal* see Lindkvist, *ME. Place-Names of Scand. Origin*, p. 30, and 'Some Old Scand. Deposits in ME.

Records' in *Minnesskrift tillägnad Prof. A. Erdmann* (Upsala, 1913), p. 203).

dæz vb. mostly occurring as a pp. *dæzd* exhausted, stupid, often used of food badly cooked or prepared; for instance, *dæzd breid* pasty, improperly baked bread; *dæzd eg* 'an addled egg'. Cf. ME. *dāsen* to grow dim, to be benumbed, to stupefy, bewilder, O. W. Scand. *dasask* (passive form) 'to get exhausted, tired', Norw. dial. *dāsa* 'to grow faint', Swed. dial. *dasa*, Dan. dial. *dase* 'to be sluggish' (Björkman, p. 233).

deg vb. (in some parts of Cumberland pronounced *dag*) 'to ooze, to flow or drop slowly, to sting' (said of a throbbing pain), 'to sprinkle water'; ME. *dag* sb. 'dew, thin rain, wet fog', &c.; *dag* vb. 'to bedew, to sprinkle, to drizzle'. *deg* and *dag* may represent different Scandinavian forms: O. W. Scand. *dægga*, Swed. dial. *dögga*, Norw. dial. *degga*, and O. W. Scand. *dogg* dew, Old and New Swed. *dagg*; or the *e* in *deg* is perhaps due to a dialectal change (see further Björkman, p. 33).

des 'a pile or heap of hay', a section of a large hayrick, 'a cutting made from a rick' (Prevost, 96); *des* vb. 'to adorn, to build or pile up' (for instance potatoes, hay, &c.); ON. *des*, Icel. *hey-des* hayrick, Swed. *dös*.

dil 'to soothe, to lull to sleep'; ON. *dilla* 'to trill, to lull' (see N.E.D. sub *dill* vb. 2, and Wall, p. 96); the word mostly occurs in the comp. *dil-watër*, a kind of soothing mixture.

diŋ vb., ME. *dingen*, originally meant 'to strike, to push', and is still preserved in this sense in other parts of Cumberland (Prevost, 97); in Lorton it is used in the expression *to diŋ up* to snub, reproach (cf. above, § 111, note), but we find the original sense preserved in the noun *diŋ* = a blow. It is a Scandinavian loan from O. Teutonic **dingwan*, O. Swed. *diunga*, O. Dan. *dinge* (see further Björkman, p. 207).

dleg (not used in Lorton) 'pleasant, sharp, quick, "well up" (in something)'; cf. ME. *gleg*, ON. *gleggr* (or *glæggr*) 'clear-sighted', Swed. dial. *glägg* 'sprightly, brisk' (Wall, p. 103; Björkman, p. 34).

[*dlent* (or *dlint*) sb. 'a glance, twinkle, glimpse'; *dlent* vb. 'to glance, to look aside, to sparkle'; ME. *glenten* 'to move quickly, to look askance, to flash, gleam', &c. Perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. dial. *glänta* to shine, gleam, to open slightly, Dan. dial. *glinte* to sparkle (Björkman, p. 241; Wall, p. 103).]

[**dlopn** vb. 'to frighten, startle, amaze'; ME. *gloppen* 'to be astonished, frightened'; cf. ON. *glöpna* 'to quail, to look down-cast or frightened' (see Björkman, p. 241). Scandinavian origin of the word questionable.]

[**doŋk** vb. 'to be damp, to drizzle' (Prevost, p. 100); **doŋki** adj. damp, misty. The origin of this word is somewhat uncertain, but perhaps cognate with Swed. dial. *dank* 'moist place in a field, marshy spot', *dänka* to moisten; cf. Dan. *dynke* to sprinkle, to moisten, and Norw., Swed. dial. *dunken* adj. moist (Falk and Torp, p. 172). The usual dialect form of this word is *dank*, and the word is probably to be looked upon as a loan in our dialect (see N.E.D. sub *dank* adj.). Scandinavian origin uncertain.]

drukn pp. drunk; from O. W. Scand. pp. *drukken* (arisen through the W. Scand. assimilation of **ŋk** > **kk**); see further Accidence, § 430, and Wright, *A Gram. of the Dialect of Windhill*, § 368.

drūn 'to drown'; ME. *drūnen* (arisen from an original Old Scand. **drunkna* through consonant dissimilation; thus **drunkna* > **drūyna* > **drūzna* > ME. *drūnen* > Lorton **drūn**; see further Björkman, p. 176).

dump; ME. *dumpen*, *dampen* vb. 'to butt with the elbow, knee, or horn'; **dump** sb. 'a blow with the elbow or knee'; perhaps Scand., cf. O. W. Scand. *dumpa* 'to beat, thrust', Swed. dial. *dumpa*, *dempa* to knock, Dan. *dumpe* 'to fall heavily', *dump* 'a heavy and sudden fall' (see Björkman, p. 235). We find the word in the comp. **dumpi-kūu** 'a cow given to attacking people'.

dunər to shake, tremble (with accompaniment of rumbling) (Prevost, p. 107), probably a frequentative formation of the vb. *dun* (see N.E.D. sub *dun* vb. 2) < ON. *duna* 'to thunder, to give a hollow sound'.

[**dwalə** vb., only used in the pp. **dwaləd** (-ət), of hay which has been allowed to remain too long in the fields and thus partly or totally spoilt; it may perhaps be a denominative formation from ON. *dwala* (*dwöl*), which originally meant 'delay, retardation' (see Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Wörterbuch*, sub *dvale*); cf. also Swed. *dvale*, Norw. dial. *dvale* 'heavy sleep, stupor, torpor'. The sense of corresponding OE. verb *dwalian* 'to err' (Bosworth-Toller) has nothing in common with the Lorton word.]

eft vb., mostly used as a pp. **eftit** of 'mountain sheep let along with a farm and depastured on a particular part of the common or

fell' (Prevost, p. 159); cf. ON. *hefta* to bind, fetter, to hold back, restrain, Dan. *hefte*, Swed. *häfta* to bind, to join (= OE. *hæftan* to bind).

eg egg; ME. *egg*, O. W. Scand. *egg*, O. Swed. *æg* (Björkman, p. 36).

eg vb. occurring in the combination to eg on to incite, to urge, to encourage; ME. *eggen*, O. W. Scand. *eggja*, O. Swed. *æggia*. Cf. OE. (*ge*)*ecgian*, but undoubtedly a Scand. loan, as there are no modern dialect forms in dž (Björkman, pp. 157, 236).

eldin fuel, ON. *elding* fuel (< *eldr* fire). The corresponding OE. word is *æled* fire; see also Wall, p. 38.

el (with loss of initial *h*, § 372), now obsolete in Lorton (Prevost, p. 161), 'to pour rapidly'; O. W. Scand. *hella* 'to pour out' (Björkman, p. 170).

eml 'a shed in the field for the shelter of young stock, a shed contiguous to the dwelling-house used as a storage for implements, bracken, &c.' (the word is now obsolete in Lorton, but given by Prevost, p. 153, and occurring in dialect records); cf. Icel. *hemill* 'an enclosure for cattle', from the vb. *hemja* to confine, restrict; but see Wall, p. 107.

farəntli 'orderly, respectably'; ME. *farand* 'pleasing, handsome'; O. W. Scand. *fara* to have a special appearance; Björkman (p. 209) quotes the Scandinavian expressions *illa farandi* ugly, *best farandi* handsomest (see also Wall, p. 98).

faut 'a foolish person, a petted child'; cf. O. W. Scand. *fauti* 'fatuus homo' (Björkman, p. 300).

f(e)il vb. 'to hide, to cover', apparently from O. W. Scand. *fela*, O. Swed. *fiæla* to hide. The OE. vb. *fēolan* does not agree in sense with f(e)il (Björkman, p. 209).

fel hill, mountain; ME. *fell(e)* mountain, O. W. Scand. *fell*, *fiäll*, Swed. *fjäll*, Dan. *fjæld* (Björkman, p. 170; Wall, p. 99).

fest 'to bind an apprentice', to send out cattle to other farms to graze (or perhaps rather: to make an agreement with another farmer to this effect); cf. the comp. *festən-peni* 'money paid to a servant on hiring to bind the agreement' (Prevost, p. 118). OE. *fæstan*, ON. *fasta*, ME. *festen*. OE. *æ* in *fæstan* would regularly give ME. *a*, Lorton *a*, but *e* might also be expected (see § 97, especially *esp*, *kest*). But the numerous ME. *e*-forms as well as the above-mentioned senses of the word agree with those of

corresponding Scandinavian verb (ON. *festa* to pledge, to bind a servant, ON. *festar* betrothal, ON. *festarmær*, Swed. *fästmö* fiancée, Icel. *festarpeningar* 'money paid as pledge or bail') (see N.E.D. sub *fast* vb. 1; Björkman, p. 237).

flaiær (ME. *fliren*) to laugh, sneer, 'to have a countenance expressive of laughter without laughing out'; cf. Norw. and Swed. dialects. *flira* to laugh or titter, Dan. dial. *flire* to grin, 'to laugh unbecomingly' (see N.E.D. sub *fleer* vb., and Wall, p. 100).

[*flaip* 'the rim of a hat'; perhaps cognate with ON. *flipe* 'a horse's lip', Dan. *flip* 'flap', Norw. dial. *flipe* 'flap, lobe' (Wall, p. 100); but the present dial. form points to an ON. **flip*.]

flat (ME. *flat*) flat, prostrate, &c., O. W. Scand. *flatr*, Swed. *flat*, Dan. *flad* (see N.E.D. sub *flat* adj., and Björkman, p. 238).

flau 'an extensive and unsheltered peat-bog, a salt marsh on an estuary' (Prevost, p. 124). Both N.E.D. and Wall (p. 100) assume this word to be of Scandinavian origin. N.E.D. (sub *flow* sb. 2) derives it from an unrecorded ON. **flōwe* (which would regularly give Lorton *flau*; cf. § 184); the *w* in this form might be a glide arisen between the two vowels in ON. *flōe* (Norw. dial. *flōe*), Icel. *flói*, as in *grofe*, *grufe*, 'grow' < ON. *gróa*, or in the Lorton triphthongs *ūwə*, *auwə*, cf. above, §§ 29, 33, and O. Ritter, 'Zur Mundart des nordöstlichen Schottlands,' § 196. 2 (in *Englische Studien*, 46. 1).

flæ to scare, to frighten; N.E.D. quotes two probable OE. forms, **fligan* and **flegan*, but both these verbs would have given Lorton *flī*, whereas ON. *flējja* would regularly develop into *flæ*, and this word may consequently be looked upon as a Scandinavian loan, especially as the dialectal distribution of the word seems to support such a supposition.

flæk (in the north and east of Cumberland also pronounced *flik*; see Prevost, p. 121) 'a sheep-hurdle, a barred water heck, a frame horizontally suspended from the ceiling, on which flitches of bacon, &c., are laid to dry'; cf. ON. *flake*, *fleke* hurdle, wicker shield (see N.E.D. sub *flake* sb. 1).

flit 'to remove goods, especially secretly and when in debt'; ME. *flütten*, *flitten* 'to flit, carry, migrate', O. W. Scand. *flytja*, O. Swed. *flytia*, Swed. *flytta* to remove (Björkman, p. 210).

fræ, *fre* (individually pronounced *præ*, *pre*) prep. from; ME. *frā*, O. W. Scand. *frā* from (Björkman, p. 100).

fuml vb. to fumble; **fuml** sb. 'a blundering attempt'; perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. *fumla*, Dan. *fumle*, *fomle*, Norw. dial. *fumla* in the same sense (Björkman, p. 236).

fwōš (or **fōš**) waterfall or cascade, mostly occurring in place-names, such as **fwōš spūut** *Force Spout* (near Lorton), *Scale Force*, *Birker Force*. ON. *fors*, Swed. *fors*, Dan. *fos* 'waterfall'.

gad-wan(d)z 'a rod or whip used in driving horses' (now obsolete in our dialect); ME. *gadd* 'a sharp pike of metal, a pointed rod or stick used for driving oxen, &c.'; O. W. Scand. *gaddr*, O. Swed. *gadder*, N. Swed. *gadd* 'goad, spike, sting' (Björkman, p. 168).

gap 'an opening in a fence, a hedge, or the ridge of a mountain', also used of the mountain passes in Cumberland; cf. the verb **giáp** to gape; both **gap** and **giáp** are probably of Scandinavian origin; ME. *gap* sb., *gapen* vb., from ON. *gap* 'chasm, opening'; cf. Swed. *gap*, Dan. *gab*, opening of the mouth, chasm, and ON. *gapa*, Swed. *gapa*, Dan. *gabe* to open the mouth. A corresponding OE. **gapian* has not been recorded (see N.E.D. sub *gape* vb., and Björkman, p. 150).

gār 'to compel, to make' (some one do something); ME. *geren*, *gerren*, *garen*, O. W. Scand. *gërva*, *gerva*, *gera* 'to make, do'; OE. *gierwan* (*gearwian*), ME. *garwen*. The form as well as the sense and the dialectal distribution of the word point to its Scandinavian origin (see further N.E.D. sub *gar* vb., and Björkman, p. 151).

gār̃n, ME. *garn* sb. yarn, O. W. Scand. *garn*, O. and New Swed. *garn* yarn. We also find the native form of the word OE. *gearn* > Lorton *jār̃n* in the sense of 'tale, story' (see above, § 351) (Björkman, p. 150); cf. the comp. **gār̃n-winēlz**.

gār̃p 'yard, a small piece of enclosed ground', &c., O. W. Scand. *garðr*, O. Swed. *garþer*, occurring in several place-names (such as *Garth-head*, *West-garth*), and in compounds: **stak-gār̃p** a stack-yard, **kōf-gār̃p** an enclosure for the calves, &c. (cf. above, § 351. 2, and Björkman, p. 151).

gauk 'the cuckoo'; O. W. Scand. *gaukr*, OE. *gēac* (Björkman, p. 69); the word is also used in the sense of 'a fool, an ungainly person'. Cf. the adj. **gauki** 'awkward, ungainly' (Prevost, p. 144; Björkman, p. 69).

gaul 'to howl or yell', especially applied to the cry of the hounds when hunting on the fell sides; ME. *goulen* (also *gawlen*,

gaulen), O. W. Scand. *gaula* 'to howl, low, bellow'; cf. Icel. *gōla* (also applied to the yell of dogs; cf. Wall, p. 104; Björkman, p. 69).

gaum (now obsolete in Lorton but quoted by Prevost and Ferguson) vb. 'to understand, to give attention to, to take care of'; *gaum* sb. 'attention'; ME. *gōm* sb. 'care, heed, attention', from O. W. Scand. *gaum*, *gaumr* 'heed, attention'.

gaupēnz 'a handful, the two hands full'; O. W. Scand. *gaupn*, O. Swed. *gēpen* 'the hollow of the hand' (Björkman, p. 70).

gauri 'dull, stupid, gloomy'; cf. ON. *gaurr* 'a rough, sad fellow' (Wall, p. 104).

gaut 'a male pig'; ME. *galte*, ON. *galte*, *geltr* (Wall, p. 101), Swed. *galt* (on the transition *al* + cons. > *au*, see § 134); cf. also *gelt*, *gilt* (p. 145).

[*gauz* 'to burst out suddenly, a rush or gush of fluid'; cf. Norw. dial. *gaus* 'rush of fluid', *gausa* 'to run, rush' (Björkman, p. 300).]

gāen (cf. *bāen*, p. 136) 'handy, short, direct' (used of a pathway or road); ME. *gein*, *gain* adj. 'straight, near', O. W. Scand. *gegn*, adj. 'handy, direct, convenient'; cf. Swed. *gen*, Dan. *gjen*, short, direct (way) (Björkman, p. 151).

geld 'barren, not pregnant', said of a woman or an animal; ME. *gelde* 'barren', *gelden* vb. 'to castrate', O. W. Scand. *geldr* castrated, *gelda* to castrate (see N.E.D. sub *geld* adj., and Björkman, p. 240).

gest guest, ME. *gest*, *gist*, O. W. Scand. *gestr* (Björkman, p. 152).

gezlin 'gosling, the young of geese', ME. *geslyng*, ON. *gæslingr* a gosling (see further N.E.D. sub *gosling*).

giát 'path, road, way', passage, street; ME. *gate* 'way, road', O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *gata* in the same sense (Björkman, p. 151). Cf. the expression *tæ git ægiát* to get on one's way, to get started.

giār 'cart and plough harness, wealth, dress, property in general' (Prevost, p. 136); ME. *gere* 'equipment, apparatus, manner, habit', &c., ME. vb. *geren* 'to adorn, equip, harness', probably Scandinavian, from O. W. Scand. *gervi*, *gervi* (cf. OE. *gearwe*) (see Björkman, p. 151, and N.E.D. sub *gear* sb.).

gil 'a ravine, a cleft in the rocks' (usually with a stream in it); ME. *gill*, *gille(-strēm)* 'a deep rocky cleft or ravine', O. W. Scand. *gīl* 'a crack, fissure, narrow glen', Norw. dial. *gīl*. Frequent in place-names.

gilder 'horse-hair snares attached to cross-strings running across a hoop or bent stick', hair nooses; ME. *gilder* 'snare', ON. *gildra* 'snare', O. Swed. *gilder*, Norw. *gilder* (Björkman, p. 154).

gilt 'a young sow intended for breeding purposes'; ME. *giltte* sow, O. W. Scand. *gyltr*, *gylta* (Björkman, p. 210).

gimər, **gimər lam** 'a female sheep not exceeding two years old'; ME. *gymbyre*, *gymbure* 'young sheep', O. W. Scand. *gymbr* 'young female sheep', Dan. *gimmerlam*, Norw. *gimber*, *gymber* (see Falk and Torp, p. 310, and Björkman, p. 211).

gis, **gisi** 'call-notes for swine', also applied to the swine itself, an altered form of **grais** 'young pigs, wild swine', now obsolete, but occurring in place-names (*Grisedale*); ME. *gris* a young pig, O. W. Scand. *griss*, Swed., Dan. *gris* a pig; cf. also Swed. *giss* call-note for swine (Björkman, p. 211).

git to get, pret. **gat**, pp. **gitn**; ME. *geten*, O. W. Scand. *geta*, O. Swed. *giata* (see Björkman, p. 153, and above § 112).

giv to give, pret. **gev** (see Accidence, § 438), pp. **gīn**; ME. *giuen*, O. W. Scand. *gefa*, O. Swed. *giva* (Björkman, p. 154).

[**gōf** (mining term) 'the space remaining in a pit after the removal of the coal' (Prevost, p. 142); from ON. *golf* 'floor, apartment' (with vocalization of the *l*; cf. § 274, 6); cf. Swed. *golf*, Dan. *gulv* floor. ON. *golf* would give Lorton **gauf**; the word is perhaps a dialect loan.]

grasəm 'a fine paid by all the tenants of a manor on the death of the lord', sometimes used to signify a manorial rent; ME. *gersume*, *garsume*, O. W. Scand. *gørsemi*, *gersemi*, O. Dan. *gørsom* 'a treasure'. OE. *gersume* is a Scandinavian loan (see Wall, p. 104; Björkman, p. 152). The word has evidently got its present dialect form through association with *grass* sb.

grædli (obsolescent and rare) 'good, proper' (Prevost, p. 145); ME. *greiðlic* suitable, ON. *greiðligr* 'prepared, equipped'.

grænz 'the prongs of a fork, branches of a tree'; ME. *grein*, *grayn* 'some part of a weapon, arm of a sea, &c.', ON. *grein* 'branch, division, bough, twig', Swed. *gren* branch, Dan. dial. *gren* 'prong of a fork' (see N.E.D. sub *grain* sb. 2, and Björkman, p. 43).

græp 'a dung-fork'; apparently < ON. *greip*, only recorded in the sense of grip, grasp, or the part of the hand and fingers which is used for grasping; but cf. Norw. *greip*, Swed. *grep* with exactly the same sense as Lorton **græp**: 'a fork used for digging or as a dung-fork'. But we also find in the north and north-west (see

Prevost, p. 148) a form **griáp** which seems to point to the OE. *grāp* grasp.

græþ sb. (not used in Lorton but occurring in dialect records, see Prevost, p. 145) 'wealth, horsegear'. **græþ** vb. 'to dress, accoutre'; ON. *greiða* vb. 'to prepare', *greiðe* sb. 'entertainment, arrangement', &c. (Wall, p. 104, and Björkman, p. 43).

griúp 'the space behind the cows in a stall, a narrow passage, a privy, a sink'; cf. ON. *gróp* the narrow furrow or groove of a rill (see Falk and Torp), Icel. *gróp* groove, Swed., Norw. *gröp* hollow, cavity. The above-mentioned ON. forms have given ME. *gröp* (see N.E.D. sub *groop*) and then regularly Lorton **griúp** (§ 176).

griúv a pit, 'a place from whence coal, slate, &c., have been dug' (Prevost, p. 147); possibly from ON. *gróf* (>ME. *grōv* > Lorton **griúv**, § 176) 'hollow, pit'; cf. Goth. *grōba* 'cavity, hollow', Dan. *grøv* hollow, cavity. N.E.D. (sub *groove*) derives *groove* from the Dutch *groeve* 'sulcus, fossa, scrobs'.

gul (jələ gul) 'the corn marigold', *Chrysanthemum segetum* (Prevost, p. 149); cf. ME. *gul(l)* 'yellow, pale', ON. *gulr*, Swed., Dan. *gul* yellow (Björkman, p. 212).

il adj. 'evil, wicked'; **il** vb. 'to degrade, slander' (Prevost, p. 175); ME. *ille* adj. 'evil, bad', O. W. Scand. *illr*, *illa* adj. with the same sense, Swed. *illa* adv. 'badly', Dan. *ilde* (Björkman, p. 171).

iŋ 'meadow in a low or moist situation, a long and narrow field'. The word also seems to occur in place-names, such as *Long-ings*, *Far-ings*, &c. (Prevost, p. 176); ME. *eng* 'meadow' < ON. *eng*, Swed. *äng*, Dan. *eng* 'meadow' (on the transition *e* > *i* before *ŋ*, see § 110. 2).

iŋ vb. 'to hang', pret. **aŋ** (uŋ, see § 429, B), pp. **uŋ**; apparently from ON. *hengja* to hang (see further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 157). The form **aŋ** to hang, is also frequently used, but without any appreciable distinction in sense.

intak 'an enclosed piece of land near a farm-house', 'an enclosure taken from the common'; cf. Swed. *intaka* 'an enclosed common', Norw. *intak*, Swed. *intäkt*, Dan. *intagt* 'what is taken in' (see Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 33; Wall, p. 108).

jū(w)ər 'a cow's udder'; from ON. *iugr*, O. Swed. *iugher* (through vocalization of *g*, compensation lengthening, and diphthongization of the *ū* > *yū*; see § 145). Cf. Norw. *juver*, *jur*, Swed. *jufver*.

kail 'a boil or sore', ME. *kīle*, ON. *kýli* 'a boil or abscess' (Wall, p. 109).

kam 'ridge, crest', probably from ON. *kambr* (Dan. and Swed. *kam*) = 'crest, ridge' (of a hill, &c.). The native correspondency is Lorton **kwōm** (see § 93, note 1).

kār 'an extensive hollow place where water stands in winter, small, hollow, cup-shaped fields'; ME. *ker* marshy ground, O. W. Scand. *kiarr*, Dan. *kjær*, Swed. *kärr* (Björkman, p. 142).

kārl 'a coarse unmannerly fellow, a countryman'; ME. *carl* 'a man', ON. *karl*, Dan., Swed. *karl* 'man, male, man of the people'. We find the original sense of the word preserved in the comp. **kārl-kat** 'a male cat' (Prevost, p. 55); cf. ON. *karl-dýr* 'a male beast', OE. *carl-fugol* 'male bird', &c. (Björkman, p. 215; Wall, p. 93).

kaup vb. 'to exchange, barter'; **kaupər** sb. a dealer (generally a horse-dealer); ME. *coupen*, *copen* from O. W. Scand. *kaupa*, O. Swed. *köpa*, Swed. *köpa* to buy (Björkman, p. 70).

kæ (-bitit) used of sheep: 'having the ear (usually the left ear) marked by the removal of a square piece cut out from the edge'; cf. Dan. dial. *kei* 'the left hand', Swed. *kaja* 'left hand', *kaj-händt* 'left-handed' (see N.E.D. sub *kay*, *key* adj., and Björkman, p. 56).

kæk vb. 'a twist or bend to one side'; ON. *keikia* 'to bend backwards', *keikr* adj. 'bent backwards', Norw. *keika* 'to turn, to twist' (see further Falk and Torp, sub *keitet*, and Wall, p. 108).

kel(d) 'a weak spring of water in arable land, a marshy place'; also occurring in frequent place-names (see N.E.D. sub *keld* sb. 2); ON. *kelda*, Swed. *källa*, Dan. *kilde* 'a spring of water, a fountain or well'.

kenspek(ə)lt 'conspicuous, visible, distinct'; perhaps Scandinavian; cf. ON. *kennispeki* 'faculty of recognition', Norw. *kjenne-spak*, Swed. dial. *kännspek* adj. 'quick at recognizing persons or things'. Scandinavian origin, however, somewhat doubtful (see further Björkman, sub *spak*, p. 220, and Wall, p. 108).

[**kep** 'to catch, to seize in the air'; ME. *kippen* 'to seize, to take up hastily'; cf. O. W. Scand. *kippa* 'to snatch'. The *e* in **kep** may perhaps be due to analogical influence from **ketš** to catch.]

kest 'to cast, throw', &c. (see further Prevost, p. 185); ME. *casten*, *cesten*, ON. *kasta*, Swed. *kasta*, Dan. *kaste* (Björkman, p. 142).

ket 'filth, rubbish, carrion'; adj. **keti** 'dirty, mean'; ME.

ket 'flesh', ON. *kigt* 'flesh, carrion' (see further Wall, p. 109, and Björkman, p. 142).

ketl kettle; cf. O. Scand. *ketill* kettle, OE. *cētel*. If not a loan, at least influenced by Scandinavian (Björkman, p. 142).

kiáv 'to paw with the foot in a restless or uneasy manner' (often said of horses; see further Prevost, p. 182); cf. Norw. dial. *kava* 'to be restless, eager', Swed. dial. *kafva* to fumble or grope about (see also Wall, p. 108).

kiávl 'to kick or leap awkwardly'; apparently a frequentative formation of the above-mentioned word.

kid kid; ME. *kide*, O. W. Scand. *kið*, O. Swed. *kib*, Dan. *kid*. Undoubtedly Scandinavian (see further Björkman, p. 143).

kilp 'a hook or handle attached to a vessel' (mostly used in the combination *kilps en kriúks*; see Prevost, p. 186); ME. *kilp*, *kelp* handle (Björkman, p. 143), from ON. *kilpr* handle, loop.

kilt vb. used in the combination to *kilt up* 'to fasten up the skirts of a dress'; evidently of Scand. origin; cf. ON. *kilting*, *kelta*, *kjölting* in the sense: 'a fold formed by fastening or tucking up the dress or skirt' (cf. Falk and Torp, sub *kilte*), Dan. *kilte* or *kiltre* usually in combination with *op* (= *up*) 'to fasten up', Swed. dial. *kilta* vb. 'to carry something in the lap or in a fold of the dress', *kiltra sej* refl. vb. 'to fasten up one's skirt'; cf. the expression *kilti kwōt pegi* 'a woman who tucks up her clothes to work, a careful person' (Prevost, p. 186).

kinl vb. 'to kindle or light (a fire)'; *kinlin* 'firewood, materials used for lighting a fire'; ME. *kinnen*, *kindlen* to kindle, O. W. Scand. *kynda* 'to set on fire', *kyndill* 'candle, torch', Dan. *kyndel* 'a candle' (see further Björkman, p. 276).

[*kist* chest, box, is perhaps influenced by Scandinavian or a direct Scandinavian loan; cf. ON. *kista*, Swed. *kista*, Dan. *kiste*, OE. *cest*, *cist*.]

kitl vb. to tickle, 'to take potatoes out of the ground with the hands, leaving the tops'; *kitl* adj. 'active, quick, excitable'. The word may be a Scandinavian loan or at least influenced by ON. *kitla* (Swed. *kittla*) to tickle (see further N.E.D. sub *kittle*).

kitlin kitten, a young animal, probably from ON. *kettlingr*, Norw. *kjetling* kitten. (The transition *e > i* is probably due to influence of the following dental; cf. above, § 112).

k(e)ivl 'the flat wooden bar round which the string is worked when making the meshes of a net' (Prevost, p. 183); ME. *kevel*

'bridle-bit, clamp, hook, lot' < O. W. Scand. *kefli* (*kafti*), O. Dan. *kæfte*, Swed. *kafte* (Björkman, p. 142).

kod 'a pillow, hassock, pin-cushion'; ME. *codde* 'pillow, cushion', O. W. Scand. *koddi* pillow, Swed. *kudde* cushion, O. Dan. *kodde* pillow (Björkman, p. 247).

kraul 'to crawl'; ME. *craulen*, ON. *krafla*, Swed. *krafla*, Dan. *kraule* 'to crawl' (see further, Björkman, p. 215).

kræk 'crow', occurring in the comp. **kræk-beri** 'crowberry'; ME. *crake*, ON. *kråka*, Swed. *kråka*, Norw. *kraaka*, Dan. *krage* (see further Björkman, p. 25, and Wall, p. 94).

kriuk crook; ME. *croke*, ON. *krókr*, O. Swed. *kroker*, Swed. *krok*.

kurk 'church' (ME. *kirke* in Orm., according to Björkman 'distinctly Scandinavian in form'; see p. 143); cf. ON. *kirkeja*, Dan. *kirke*, Swed. *kyrka*, OE. *cir(i)ce*. Cf. the comp. **kurk-garþ** churchyard (**kurk** + ON. *garþr* yard).

kurn vb. and sb. churn. I have heard this word only in the comp. **kurn-milk** buttermilk; ME. *kyrne* 'churn' may be due to ON. *kirna* churn (see N.E.D. sub *churn*, and Björkman, p. 143). Der.: **kurn-supər** 'a harvest festival where half-churned cream was served' (see further Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 35).

kū(w)ər, occurring in the adverbial expression **umli kū(w)əš** (to sit) in a huddled-up position, used of the miners when sitting in a squatting position and with the elbows resting on the knee (**umli**, perhaps from the sb. *hummel* 'a drone, a lazy fellow'; see N.E.D. sub *hummel* sb.); cf. ME. *cūren* to cower, and Norw. dial. *kūre* 'to bend oneself down', Swed. *kūra*, Dan. *kūre* with similar senses (Björkman, p. 248).

lagin 'the ends of the staves which project outside a cask or tub'; cf. ON. *legg*, Swed. *lagg* 'a stave', *lagg-kūrl* a wooden cask or tub composed of staves.

lait vb. always with *on*: to **lait on** 'to depend upon, to trust, to rely on'; ON. *hlita* 'to rely on, to trust', Swed. *lita*, Dan. *lide*.

laið vb. 'to listen to'; cf. the expressions **laiə~nyu**, **laistə** listen now! listen thou! (this word is now obsolete in Lorton, but some of the older people remember having heard it used about fifty years ago); ME. *liþen*, *liðen*, ON. *hlýða* to listen, Dan. *lyde*, Norw. and Swed. dialects. *lyda* to listen.

lau sb. 'fire, flame, blaze, a torch used by fish-poachers'; vb. 'to flame, blaze, to go fish-poaching with a torch'; ME. *loghe*, *lowe*

'fire', *lowen* to blaze, flame, O. W. Scand. *logi*, O. Swed. *lughi*, *loghi*, Swed. *låga*, *låge* (Björkman, p. 217).

laund 'calm, still, sheltered'; cf. ME. *lune* 'quiet, rest', ON. *logn* 'rest, calm', Norw. dial. *logn* adj. 'calm', Swed. *lugn*, Dan. *luun* (Björkman, p. 250, and Wall, p. 111).

laup vb. and sb. to leap, jump; ME. *loupēn*, ON. *hlaupa*, Norw. dial. *laupa*, Swed. *löpa*.

laus adj. 'loose, out of service or apprenticeship'; vb. 'to loose, to set free' (see further Prevost, p. 204); ME. *lous*, *lows*, *laus* adj. 'loose', *lousen*, *lowsen*, *lausen* vb. 'to loose, to set free', O. W. Scand. *lauss*, Norw. dial. *laus*, Swed. *lös* loose, free (see Wall, p. 111, and Björkman, p. 71).

læk 'to play'; *lækinz* playthings; ME. *leggkenn* 'to trifle, jest, play', ON. *leika* to play, O. Swed. *leka*, Dan. *lege*, O. Swed. *lekan* 'plaything' (Björkman, p. 47).

læn (not known in Lorton, but given by Ferguson and Prevost, p. 192) 'to conceal, connive at, or hide a fault'; ON. *leyni* 'hiding-place', *leyna* 'to hide', but cf. also OE. *lēgn(i)an*, *lēgn(i)an* to deny.

læri 'dirty with mud or clay'; *læt* 'said of a horse or cow which has got stuck in a bog' (Prevost, p. 191); ME. *laire* mud, clay, ON. *leir*, Swed. *lera* clay, mud.

læt 'to seek, to fetch, to bring'; ME. *leggtēnn* 'to inquire, seek, look for', ON. *leita*, Old and Mod. Swedish *leta* 'to seek, to look for'.

æv 'what is left, remainder'; the *æ* points to Scandinavian rather than native origin; cf. ON. *leif* remainder, which would regularly give Lorton *læf* or *læv*, whereas OE. *lāf* would develop into Lorton *liáf*.

[*led*, occurring in the combination *led fārm* 'an additional farm on which the occupier does not reside'; a farm of this kind is often let out or hired by another person, and the word *led* may therefore be the shortened past participle of the ON. vb. *leiga*, Dan. *leie*, Swed. *lega*, *leja*, Norw. *leiga* (see Falk and Torp, sub *leie* vb.) 'to hire or rent'; cf. ON. *leiguland* 'hired or rented land'. We find the word represented in ME. *lēghe* 'hire, daily pay' (cf. also Björkman, p. 61). The short vowel of the past participle may perhaps be accounted for through associative influence of *let* vb.]

li scythe; from ON. *lé*, Dan. *lee* (Swed. *lie*); comp. *li-stián* 'a whetting-stone for scythes'.

liáp barn; ME. *laþe*, ON. *hlaða*, O. Swed. *laþa*, Mod. Swed. *lada*, Dan. *lade*, Norw. dial. *lada* barn.

lift 'to lift, to leave a company, to remove a corpse for burial'; ME. *liften*, ON. *lypta*, O. Swed. *lypta*, *lyfta*, Swed. *lyfta*, Dan. *lefte* (Björkman, p. 249).

liŋ 'heather'; ME. *ling*, ON. *lyng*, Dan. *lyng*, Swed. *ljung* 'heather'.

lisk the flank or groin; ME. *lesske*; cf. O. Swed. *lūske*, O. Dan. *lūske*, Dan. *lyske* with the same sense (Björkman, p. 138). (On the transition ME. *e* > *i* see § 112.)

listar 'a pronged and barbed fish-spear'; ON. *liöstr*, Norw. dial. *ljoster*, Swed. *ljuster*, Dan. *lyster*.

lō low; ME. *lāh*, *lāg*, *lōg* low, ON. *lāgr* low, Swed. *låg*, &c. (see further N.E.D. and Björkman, p. 90).

lof (or lwof; see Prevost, p. 201) sb. 'offer, opportunity, chance'; vb. to offer. This word may possibly be derived from ON. *lof* sb. permission, admission, consent, *lofu* vb. to permit, to accede to (a request); this word later adopted the sense of promise, to promise (see Falk and Torp, sub *lov*, II), which we find in Mod. Swed. *lofva*, Dan. *love* to promise. Some of the examples given by Prevost seem to be closely connected with the original Scandinavian sense (promise, permission) of the word and therefore point to Scandinavian origin.

loft 'a garret, the second story of a farm-house open to the rafters'; ME. *loft* 'upper room, height', ON. *loft* 'air, sky, upper room', Icel. *lopt*, Swed., Dan. *loft* 'upper room, garret'.

lop a flea (not used in Lorton, but given by Prevost, p. 203); apparently Scandinavian; not recorded in ON., but cf. Swed. *loppa*, Dan. *loppe*; according to N.E.D. the ON. form probably was **hloppa*, from the root of *hlaupa* to leap; but see Falk and Torp, s.v.

[lopet 'coagulated, curdled' (said of milk or cream; a pp. of the vb. *loper*); ME. *lopred* (see N.E.D.); cf. ON. *lopna* 'to curdle, coagulate'.]

[lug 'ear, the handle of a pail or jug', &c.; cf. Swed. *lugg* forelock, *lugga* to pull a person's hair, ME. *luggen* 'to drag, pull'. The sb. *lug* does not appear in the above-mentioned sense (= ear) before 1500. The transition of sense *forelock* > *ear* is somewhat difficult to account for, but the original sense of the word may have been 'something that is hanging down' (like a forelock or the ear of a dog), and the word was then probably first used of the ears of animals and later as a slang word of the human ear. But see N.E.D. sub *lug* sb. 2, and Björkman, p. 217.]

maier 'mire, mud', &c.; ME. *mire* 'mire, deep mud, wet, slimy soil', from ON. *mýr-r*, Mod. Icel. *mýri*, Swed. *myr*, Dan. *myre*, *myr* 'moor, bog'. Compounds: **maier-drum** 'a bitter'n' (Prevost, p. 28); **maier-duk** 'the wild duck or mallard' (Prevost, p. 146).

melder 'the quantity of corn ground at one time, the quantity of corn carried to the mill'; ON. *meldr* (< *mala* to grind), Swed. *mäld*, Norw. dial. *meld*, *melder*.

mel-d(u)u(w)er 'a passage between the front and back doors of a farm-house, double doors enclosing the farm-yard', &c. (Prevost, p. 212); ME. *ā* (*i*, *e*) *melle*; cf. O. Dan. *mellum*, *mællin*, *melle*, Swed. *emellan*, between (see further Björkman, p. 171).

mens 'propriety, decorum, good manners'; ME. *mennisk* 'human', *menskly* 'honourably', *menske* 'dignity, honour', &c. (see further Björkman, p. 139); O. W. Scand. *menska* 'humanity', *menskr* 'human', O. Swed. *mænska* 'goodness, generosity'; but cf. also OE. *mennisc* 'mankind'; cf. the comp. *mensful* 'hospitable, generous, liberal'. (The *k* has probably been lost in compounds like *menskly*, *mens(k)ful*.)

midin 'a heap of farm-yard manure'; cf. the comp. *as-midin* ash-pit; cf. Dan. *mødning* dunghill, Swed. dial. *mödding*, *midding* (Wall, p. 112; Björkman, p. 217). Cf. also Norw. dial. *mykjar-dunge*, *mokdunge*.

m(e)ilz 'sand-hills', occurring in several place-names, such as *Esk Meals*, *Mealsgate*, &c. (see Prevost, p. 211); ON. *melr* 'sand-bank, also bent grass' (see N.E.D. sub *meal* sb. 5).

misken 'to form a mistaken idea with regard to a person, to misunderstand, to be ignorant of' (Prevost, p. 215); cf. ON. *miskenna* not to recognize a person, and see N.E.D. sub *misken* vb.

mök 'a maggot'; ME. *maðek*, *mauk*, *möke*, probably from ON. *maðkr*; cf. Dan. *maddik*, Swed. dial. *makk* (and also OE. *maða* maggot (see further Wall, p. 111, and N.E.D. sub *maddock* and *muwk*).

mug 'a small drinking-pot', perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Swed. *mugg*, Dan. *mugge*, Norw. *mugga*, *mugge* 'an open can or jug' (see further N.E.D. sub *mug* sb. 1).

mugi 'damp, foggy'; cf. ME. *muggen* 'to become cloudy', ON. *mugga* mist, drizzle, Dan. *muggen* 'musty, mouldy'.

muk 'manure, dung, dirt'; ME. *muk*, *mukke*, *mok*, *mokke*; probably Scandinavian; cf. ON. *myki* 'dung', Norw. dial. *mukka*

'heap, pile', Swed. dial. *mokka* a small heap of dung, O. Dan. *mug* (< **muk*) dung (see further N.E.D., and Björkman, p. 250).

mun (*mən*, cf. above, § 459) must; ON. *monu*, *munu* 'shall, will' (see further N.E.D., and Wall, p. 112).

mun mouth; the word is not known in Lorton, but according to Prevost (p. 142) used in C., N., and SW. Cumberland; ON. *munnr*, Swed. *mun*, Dan. *mund* mouth (Wall, p. 112).

nab 'a promontory in a lake, a rocky projection, a high place'; occurring in place-names (cf. Prevost, p. 221); ME. *nab* 'projecting point of a hill', from O. W. Scand. *nabbr* 'hill-top, projection of the sea-coast', Norw. and Swed. dialects. *nabb* 'a projecting tongue of land or rock'. Cf. OE. *nebb* 'nose' occurring in the place-name *Skelly Neb* and others (Björkman, p. 250).

nag vb. 'to scold'; **naggi** adj. 'cross, short-tempered', perhaps Scandinavian; cf. Norw., Swed. *nagga*, Dan. *nagge* 'to bite, nibble, to vex, irritate, to be painful', Icel. *nagga* 'to complain', *nag* 'remorse, rancour, gnawing'; but cf. also OE. *gnagan* to gnaw (see further N.E.D. sub *nag* vb.).

[**nārk** 'to grate, to cut against the grain'; apparently cognate with Dan. *knarke*, Norw. and Swed. dialects. *knarka* 'to creak, to grate'. The above-mentioned words evidently have been formed on the stem *knarr* (by adding the frequentative *k*-suffix) occurring in Swed. *knarra* to grate, to grumble, Dan. *knarre* (*knurre*) to growl, snarl (see also Wall, p. 113).]

naut 'cattle' (I have not heard this word used in Lorton, but it is still current in other parts of Cumberland; see Prevost, p. 228); ME. *nout*, *nowwt*, O. W. Scand. *naut* (see further Björkman, p. 71).

næ, **nē** no; ME. *næi*, *nai*, O. W. Scand. *nei*, Mod. Swed. *nej* (OE. *nā* has given Lorton *nīa*; cf. *nīabodi* nobody, and see § 156; Björkman, p. 47).

næt 'to use, make use of' (the word is obsolete in Lorton but given by Prevost, p. 222); cf. ME. *nait* 'useful, vigorous', *naiten* 'to use', O. W. Scand. *neytr* 'fit, useful', *neyta* 'to make use of, profit', Swed. *nöta* 'to use, to wear' (Björkman, p. 65).

n(e)if 'the clenched fist'; ME. *neve*, *nefe*, from ON. *hnēfi* fist, Norw. dial. *neve*, Swed. *näfve*, Dan. *næve*. The *f* in **n(e)if** is perhaps due to influence from the plural (**neifs**).

[**nigl** 'to work steadily and persistently, though progress may

be small'; *nigler* 'a busy industrious person or animal, a penurious person'; *nigøts* 'upright cast-iron plates used for contracting the fire-place' (Prevost, p. 226). All the above-mentioned words are formed on the stem *nig* and point to a Scand. **hniggu*; cf. ME. *nig* 'niggardly' (Björkman, p. 34), Swed. dial. *nigglä* 'to be parsimonious', Swed. *niugg* 'parsimonious, stingy', Norw. dial. *nigla* (see N.E.D.); cf. also O. W. Scand. *hnæggr* 'niggardly'.]

nīz 'to sneeze, to scrape the throat with a half coughing noise' (Prevost, p. 224); perhaps Scandinavian; cf. ON. *hnjōsa*, Swed. *nysa*, Dan. *nyse* 'to sneeze', and see N.E.D. sub *neeze* vb.

[*nog* 'the handle fixed on the shaft of a scythe', &c. (see further Prevost, p. 227); cf. ON. *naggr* a peg (Wall, p. 113) or Swed. *knagg* 'the handle of a scythe' (Falk and Torp, p. 543), Dan. *knag*, *knagge* 'peg, handle of scythe'. (The *o* in *nog* is, however, difficult to account for.)]

od occurring in the expression *wat^odz* 'what does it matter? what difference does it make?' and the comp. *odmænts* 'scraps, odds and ends, worthless things'; cf. ME. *odde* 'odd, distinguished, special', *od* sb. 'point', O. W. Scand. *oddi* 'odds, quarrel, odd number', *oddr* 'point', Swed. *udda* (*udda tal* odd number); see further Björkman, p. 169, and N.E.D. sub *odd*.

[*ōf* 'a blockhead, idiot, half-wit, simpleton'; perhaps from ON. *alfr* fairy, hobgoblin (see N.E.D. sub *auf*), Dan., Swed. *alf*, Norw. dial. *alv*. The word originally meant a changeling left by the fairies, then a misbegotten, deformed, idiot child (cf. OE. *ælf* > NE. *elf*).]

okær 'to scramble awkwardly, to bend' (Prevost, p. 168, hardly known in Lorton); cf. ON. *hokra* 'to crouch, to go bent', and Norw. dial. *hokra* with the same sense (Wall, p. 107).

ōm (oum, aum) spelt *holm(e)*, occurring in several place-names, such as *Abbey Holme*, *Eden Holme*, *House Holm*, *Ling Holm* in the sense of 'alluvial land by the river side, an island, especially in a lake or creek' (Prevost, p. 169); from ON. *holmr* 'islet in a bay, creek, lake, or river, meadow on the shore'; cf. Dan. *holm*, Norw., Swed. *holm(e)* with a similar sense.

ōm-treī the common elm; apparently from ON. *almr*, Norw. *alm*, Swed. *alm*. In the north of Cumberland we find the peculiar form *em(ə)*, apparently an altered form (through metathesis) of OE. *elm* (Prevost, p. 231).

ōnd (aund) (now obsolete in Lorton) 'fated, destined'; ON. *auðna* 'to be ordained by fate' (pp. *auðnaðr*), Norw. dial. *auden* 'ordained, determined' (Wall, p. 90). *ō* instead of *au* in this word may depend on influence of *ōn* adj. own.

paik peak, 'a pillar or cairn of stones', &c. (see Prevost, p. 243); it is impossible to decide whether the word is Scandinavian or native (cf. ON. *pīk*, OE. *pīc*, Swed. *pīk*, &c.), but the frequent occurrence of the word in dialects of the North as well as in the local nomenclature of those dialect districts which show a strong Scandinavian element seems to point to, if not a direct Scandinavian source, at least Scandinavian influence (see further N.E.D., and Björkman, p. 145).

pilivər according to Prevost (p. 244) = 'a pillow', but in the quotation (ibid.) given it may as well mean 'pillow-case' < ME. *pilewer* 'pillow-case' where the last component of the word probably is O. W. Scand. *ver* 'covering', Swed. *var* (Björkman, p. 258).

pisimaier (with the variants *pisimər*, *pismuðər*, *pišmiðər*; see Prevost, p. 245) 'the ant'; ME. *pismire* 'ant'; cf. O. Swed. *mýra*, Dan. *myre*, Swed. *myra* (Björkman, p. 115).

raiv 'to tear or split', &c. (Prevost, p. 265); ON. and Icel. *rifa*, Norw. *riva*, Swed. *rifva*, Dan. *rive*.

ram 'having a fetid or rancid odour'; cf. ON. *rammr*, *ramr* 'strong, sharp, bitter', Dan. *ram* 'bitter, strong, acrid'; cf. also *ramiš* 'violent, untamed'.

[**raml**˘*sliát* 'a very coarse kind of slate', evidently rough pieces of slate which have fallen down from the rock; and **raml** may then perhaps be identical or cognate with Swed. *ramla*, Dan. *ramle* to fall or tumble down.]

ranl˘*trei* or **ranl**˘*bök* 'a cross piece of wood in a chimney on which the chimney-crook is hung' (see further Prevost, p. 258). The word is probably of Scandinavian origin, although the *l* in **ranl** is difficult to account for; cf. Norw. *rand* in the sense of 'the space above the fire-place', Dan. dial. *raan*, *rane* 'bars for the hens to roost on', Swed. dial. *ränne*, Norw. dial. *randa-tre* with the same sense as **ranl**˘*trei* (see further Wall, p. 115, and N.E.D.).

rap occurring in the expressions: **rap** o˘*t'nuklz* to rap on the knuckles, to snub; **rap** ʊ˘*t* 'to speak with rapidity'. The word is probably of imitative origin and not recorded in ON., but

cf. Swed., Dan. *rap(p)* 'a smart blow' (with a whip or a stick), Swed. *rappa* to flog, to beat.

rauk 'fog, mist'; **rauki** adj. misty; cf. ME. *roke* fog, vapour, cloud, Swed. dial. *rauk* 'smoke', Dan. dial. *raag* 'mist', Norw. dial. *rok* 'mist, smoke' (but ON. *reykr*), Swed. *rök*, Dan. *røg*. The Lorton form represents a non-mutated **rauk*, whereas the ON. form has undergone *i*-mutation (see further Falk and Torp, p. 934; Björkman, p. 77).

raup auction, from the verb **raup**, which is now obsolete in Lorton but occurring in other dialects of the North (see N.E.D. sub *roup* vb.); cf. Icel. *raupa* to 'boast, brag', M. Sw. *röpa* 'to shout' (< **raupa*); O. Dan. *robe* 'to shout, to accuse, to snub', ON. *hrôpa*, Swed. *ropa* 'to shout' seem to be unrelated to **raup** (see also Falk and Torp, p. 932).

raut vb. 'to roar, to bellow as a cow'; **raut** sb. 'the prolonged roar of a cow'; ME. *routen*, O. W. Scand. *rauta*, Norw. *rauta* (see N.E.D. sub *rout*, and Björkman, p. 72).

rau(wə)n-treī 'the mountain-ash'; cf. Norw. dial. *raun* mountain-ash (but ON. *reyner*, Swed. *rönn*, Dan. *røn*; the ON. form has arisen through *i*-mutation, whereas the forms of the Lorton and Norwegian dialects represent the non-mutated forms of the Scandinavian word (see Wall, p. 115, and N.E.D. sub *rowan*).

ræk vb. 'to follow in a line as sheep do, to stray as cattle in search of food, to wander far and wildly'; **ræk** sb. 'a journey, a mountain track or narrow path'; ME. *reike*, *raike* 'course, path', *reiken*, *raiken* to wander, O. W. Scand. *reik* 'wandering', *reika* 'to wander, to waver' (Björkman, p. 48).

ræt 'to become rotten, to whiten by bleaching on the grass' (Prevost, p. 259); cf. Norw. dial. *reyta*, 'to ret flax', Swed. *röta* with a similar sense. According to Falk and Torp the same word as ON. *reyta*, to tear off, pick off (cf. Björkman, p. 188; Wall, p. 133).

ræz 'a cairn or pile of stones', occurring in place-names, such as *High Raise*, *Blakeley Raise*, &c.; ON. *hreyse*, Swed. *rös(e)* (Wall, p. 114).

reklin 'the smallest or weakest member of a litter of pigs or a brood of chickens'; ON., *rekligr* an outcast (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Iceland*, p. 48); from ON., Norw. *reka* 'to pursue, to throw away, to chase'. Cf. *rek-en* 'a tithe hen that formerly had to be paid from the poultry yard' (Prevost, p. 260).

riák, in the expression **riák tfaier** 'to cover up the fire with coals at night'; cf. ON. *raka*, Swed. *raka*, Dan. *rage* to scrape, rake, but cf. also OE. *raca* m., *racu* f. 'a rake', which has perhaps influenced the above-mentioned word (see N.E.D.).

rift (or **ruft**) vb. 'to belch'; sb. 'an eructation'; ME. *riften*, ON. *rypta*, *repta* (from a stem **rup*; see N.E.D.) 'to belch'.

riúst pp. 'praised, commended' (Prevost, p. 262); ME. *rös* praise, *rösen* 'to praise', O. W. Scand. *hrös* praise, *hrösa* to praise, Swed., Dan. *rösa* to praise.

rok 'a distaff'; cf. ON. *rokk*, Icel. *rokkur*, Norw. *rokk*, Swed. *rock*, *spinn-rock*, Dan. *rok* 'a spinning-wheel or distaff'. The word also occurs in other Germanic languages: M. Du. *rocke* sb., *rocken* vb., OHG. *rocco* sb., MLG. *rocken* vb., and may be of native origin although not recorded in OE. (see further N.E.D.).

rūd (or **rid**), often combined with **up**: 'to uproot trees or hedges', to clear away; also frequently occurring in the place-names **rūdin**, **ridin**, applied to houses and fields; ON. *ryðja*, pret. *ruddi*, pp. *ruddr* (whence probably the *u*-forms **rūd** and **rūdin**), Norw. *rydja*, Dan. *rydde*, Swed. *rödja* 'to clear' (land or wood), 'to clear a space, make room' (see N.E.D. sub *rid* vb.).

rug 'to shake, to pull roughly'; ME. *ruggen* 'to shock, agitate', O. W. Scand. *rugga* 'to shake, rock', Swed. and Norw. dial. *rugga* 'to move to and fro, to shake'; cf. Dan. *rygge* 'to shake'; see Björkman, p. 252.

ruk 'the chief part, the majority'; **rukl** 'a crowd, a great number'. Both these words point to a ME. *ū* (Björkman, p. 252: *rūke* (*rūke*?)); cf. Swed. *ruka* a heap, Norw. dial. *ruka* a heap, pile; cf. ME. *rukelen* vb. 'to heap up', whence apparently Lorton **rukl** (see above); see further Björkman, l. c.

rump, occurring in the expression **rump and stump** 'entirely, completely', is probably < ME. *rumpe* 'cauda'; cf. Norw. dial. *rumpa*, O. Swed. *rumpa*, *rompa* 'tail', Swed. dial. *rumpa*, *rompe* 'tail'.

saik 'a small wet hollow, a watercourse frequently dry in summer, a field in which springs of water rise, the margin of a lake or large pond at times under water', occurring in place-names (see Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 54). Cf. ON. *sík*, *síke* ditch, OE. *sīc* 'gutter, watercourse', but the local distribution of the word seems to favour Scandinavian origin (see E.D.D. sub *sike*).

sail vb. to strain; **sail** sb. a strainer; ME. *silen* 'to strain'; cf. Norw. dial. *sila*, Swed. *sila* 'to strain, filter' (< Scand. *sil* sb. strainer) (Björkman, p. 253).

sain 'to decant, drain off', said of a cow which ceases to give milk when she approaches calving; cf. Swed. *sina*, Norw. dial. *sina* to cease flowing (of a well), 'to cease to give milk'.

saklās 'feeble, weak-minded, simple, inoffensive'; cf. ON. *saklauss*, Swed. *saklös* 'innocent'; the late OE. *saclēas* was probably formed after the pattern of ON. *saklauss*, and occurs only as an adverb in the sense of 'without cause' (see N.E.D.).

sārċ shirt; ME. *serk*, ON. *serkr*, O. Swed. *særker*, Swed. *särk* shirt (Björkman, p. 147).

saut sb., also **sautit** (pp.), applied to different kinds of cattle diseases and to any general unsoundness in animals (see further Prevost, p. 306). The word is regularly developed from ME. *soght* 'sickness', a Scandinavian loan-word; cf. O. W. Scand. *sōt(t)*, O. Swed. *sōt* 'illness' (the *t(t)* has arisen through assimilation of *ht* > *tt*, but the Scandinavian word had been introduced into English before the time of this assimilation; cf. Björkman, pp. 170-7). OE. *suht* 'illness' would have given Lorton **suȝt*, or **suft* (cf. above, §§ 189, 375).

sau(w)ær (or **syu(w)ær**) 'boggy, swampy, moist' (used of land); the word seems to have got this special sense from the Scand.: the form **sau(w)ær** points to ON. *saurr* 'moist land, dirt', whereas **syu(w)ær** is from ON. *súrr* 'sour, unpleasant', or OE. *sūr* sour. Both forms have been mixed up in sense and use. Also occurring in place-names (see Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 57).

[**seg** 'a callosity on the hand or foot'; cf. ON. *sigg* 'hard place on skin' (Wall, p. 118). The *e* in Lorton **seg** is, however, difficult to account for.]

sej 'a heap (or bed) of hay consisting of two swathes or rows with a hollow between them'; perhaps from ON. *sæing*, *sæng*, Dan. *seng*, Swed. *säng* bed.

siám same; ME. *same*, ON. *same* masc., *sama* fem. and neut., Swed. *samme*, *samma*.

s(e)it 'a farm-house on the lower slope of a mountain with a right of pasture above', also occurring in place-names; cf. ON. *sætr*, Dan., Norw. *sæter*, Swed. *säter*, a place where the cattle of the farms are sent to graze, and also ME. *sæte*, *sēte* seat, O. W. Scand. *sæti*, Swed. *säte* (Björkman, p. 253).

s(e)iv 'the common rush'; cf. ON. *sef* sedge, Norw. dial. *sev*, Swed. *såf* (Wall, p. 118).

skant, *skantiš* 'deficient, scarce'; *skantit* pp. 'kept short, insufficiently supplied'; ME. *scant* 'scarce', *scantnesse* 'scantiness', ON. *skamt*, neuter of *skammr* 'short, brief', O. Swed. *skam(p)t*.

skār sb. 'a fright', adj. 'shy, wild'; ME. *skerre*, *skarre* 'scare, timid', O. W. Scand. *skjarr* 'shy, timid', Swed. dial. *skürr* to frighten (Björkman, p. 124).

skār 'a bare and broken place on the side of a mountain, the face of a rock, the rock itself, a cliff cut off', also occurring in place-names (see further Prevost, p. 273); ME. *sker(re)*, *skar(re)* 'a projecting rock', ON. *sker* 'a projecting rock, an isolated rock in the sea', O. Swed. *skær*, Swed. *skär*, Dan. *skjær* (Björkman, p. 124; Wall, p. 117).

skārf 'a cormorant'; *lāl skārf* the green shag (Prevost, p. 273); ON. *skarfr*, Norw., Swed. *skarf* (see N.E.D.).

[*skārf*, occurring in place-names, for instance *Scarf Gap* 'a narrow pass in the ridge of a mountain'; cf. Swed. *skarv*, Norw. *skarv* in the sense of 'a joining piece, a seam', *skarva* vb. 'to lengthen by joining together'. *skārf* in the above-mentioned place-name may thus mean the *joining gap* which joins two valleys or the two sides of a mountain together.]

[*skaup* 'a tin or iron dish, a scoop', vb. 'to scoop, to empty out'. The origin of this word is obscure, but cf. O. Swed. *skōpa*, N. Swed. *skopa* 'scoop' (this word is, however, generally derived from L. Germ. *schope* (see Björkman, p. 129)); the Lorton form points to an original **skaup*.]

skæð 'loss, damage, hurt'; ME. *skathe*, *scathe* 'injury, loss', &c., ON. *skaðe* 'harm, damage', Swed. *skade*, Dan. *skade*; cf. OE. *sc(e)aða* 'a malefactor, hurt, injury', and see N.E.D. sub *scathe* sb.; Björkman, p. 123.

skeli 'to squint, a squint'; cf. O. W. Scand. *skialgr* 'squinting', O. Swed. *skizelgher* 'squinting', Swed. *skelögd* 'squint-eyed' (Björkman, 124).

skeml 'a long seat without a back used in a farm-house kitchen'; cf. Icel. *skemil* a bench (Ellwood, *Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 55), ON. *skemill*, OE. *scamol*.

[*skensmadm* 'a mock dish set upon the table for show'; cf. ME. *skenten* 'to amuse, delight', ON. *skemta* 'to amuse, entertain', Swed. *skämta*.]

skep 'a circular basket of straw or rushes, a bee-hive'; ME. *skeppe* 'a carrying-basket', ON. *skeppa* 'a measure, bushel' (Björkman, p. 124).

skial (also *skæl*) 'a shed or building on a fell-side in which peats are housed'; also occurring in place-names, such as *Scale Hill, Winscales*, &c. (Prevost, p. 291); ME. *scale* 'shanty', ON. *skåle* 'shed, hut', Norw. dial. *skaale* 'a hut' (Björkman, p. 93; Wall, p. 116).

skil 'skill', **skili** 'skilful'; ME. *skil(l)*, ON. *skil* 'skill, discrimination, reason', &c. (cf. also Björkman, p. 126).

-sko, occurring in place-names, such as *Brisco, Wesco, Scowgarth* (Prevost, p. 273); **ski(u)u** 'a steep rough bank, thick with brush-wood'; also in place-names, such as *Scale Sceugh*; ME. *scogh* wood, ON. *skógr*, O. Swed. *skögher*, Swed. *skog*, Dan. *skov*.

sakraik 'to screech'; cf. Icel *skrikja*, O. Swed. *skrika*, Dan., Norw. *skrike* (see further Björkman, p. 131).

skrati (or *skrat*) the name of a hobgoblin or boggle, a mysterious being, which used to haunt the fell-sides, emitting fearful sounds; cf. ME. *skratt*, *scratte* 'wizard, monster, hermaphrodite', ON. *skratti* a wizard or hobgoblin, Swed. *skratt(en)* 'a ghost, heard by night'.

skr(e)l 'the running débris on the side of a mountain like West-water'; cf. Swed., Dan. *skred*, Norw. dial. *skreid*, *skrid* 'a landslip, a slip of rock or snow'; ON. *skriða* vb. 'to glide', to proceed slowly, *skriða* sb. 'a landslip'. The Lorton form points to an orig. **skrē*.

skug 'shade, to shelter under a hedge, to hide' (obsolete); O. W. Scand. *skuggi* 'a shade, shadow' (see further Björkman, p. 35).

[**skut**, **skutər** 'to make short runs, to hurry away as mice do'; cf. Swed. *skutta* to hop, jump.]

slaftər 'slaughter, the aggregate of hides and skins taken off in one establishment'; ME. *slahter*; cf. ON. *slátr* 'meat of killed cattle', *slátra* to kill cattle, OE. *sleah*t slaughter. The word is generally supposed to be of Scandinavian origin (see further Björkman, pp. 173, 253).

slaiər 'to glide, especially on the ice'; cf. Swed. *slira* 'to glide, slip'.

slak 'a shallow dell'; ME. *slac* 'ravine'; cf. Swed. dial. *slack* sloping, Norw. dial. *slakke* 'a slight hollow on a level or slope' (Björkman, p. 254).

slatər 'a wet mess on a table, &c., to spill, slop'; **slatəri** 'wet,

messy, slovenly'; ME. *slatten*; cf. ON. *slatta*, *sletta* 'to dab', 'to dash', 'to squirt out liquids' (see further Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; Stratmann-Bradley, *ME. Dict.*; and Wall, p. 120).

slæk vb. 'to besmear slightly, to wipe gently'; sb. 'a slight rubbing, a smear of grease'; probably from ON. *sleikja* 'to lick'; cf. Swed. dial. *sleka* 'to lick'.

slæp 'slippery, smooth'; ON. *sleipr* slippery, Norw. dial. *sleip* slippery (see Wall, p. 119).

slær sb. 'dirt'; vb. 'to saunter, to be careless'; **slæri** adj. 'nasty, dirty, sticky, untidy'; cf. Norw. dial. *slera* 'to move slowly, to be slow, careless', Swed. dial. *slöra* 'to loiter or saunter about' (see Falk and Torp, sub *slor*, II), but the present dialect form points to an ON. form **sleir* (or **slār*).

sled sledge; ME. *slēde*; cf. ON. *slēði*, Dan. *slæde*, Swed. *släde* sledge. (On the transition *ð* > *d* see § 326.)

slūþ dog 'a blood-hound'; cf. ME. *slōþ* 'track', ON. *slóð* 'track, way' (see Björkman, p. 165, and Stratmann-Bradley, sub *slōþ*).

slokn 'to quench thirst, to slake lime'; ME. *sloknen*, *sloken* 'to extinguish, stop', ON. *slokna* 'to get extinguished', Swed. *slockna* (Björkman, p. 219; Wall, p. 120).

[**smūt**, **smiūt** (wol hole) 'a hole in a wall or hedge to creep through' (Prevost, p. 299); Wall (p. 120) gives an ON. *smōtta* 'narrow passage' for *smätta*; cf. Dan. *smutte* 'to slink (through)', Swed. dial. *smutta*, Dan. *smutte* 'a secret path', Swed. dial. *smutt* 'a narrow opening, loophole' (Falk and Torp, p. 1085; Wall, p. 120). The present dialect form points to ME. **smūt* and **smōt*.]

snag 'a projecting end where a branch has been cut off a tree', 'to cut off or notch'. Skeat derives this word from Celtic (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* sub *snag*), but cf. also ON. *snaga* 'an axe with protruding ends (corners)', Norw. dial. *snage* 'a protruding point, a promontory', *snaga* 'to protrude, to jut out' (see further Falk and Torp, p. 1089). The present dialect form points to an original **snagg*.

snārl 'a snare, noose, or loop'; **snārl** not 'a knot that cannot be drawn loose'; cf. Icel. *snerill* 'entanglement'; Ellwood (*Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 54) gives the following Icelandic expression: *færið er alt í snerli* 'the line (of a new fishing tackle) is all in a snarl' = 'all twisted into a knot'; cf. Dan. *snerle*, *snerre* 'bindweed' (convolvulus), ON. *snara* 'to sling or wind' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1093).

snāp 'to snub, to curb or restrain', 'a snub'; ME. *snaipen* 'to check', ON. *sneypta* 'to dishonour, disgrace', Swed. *snöpa* 'to castrate', &c. (see further Wall, p. 120; Björkman, p. 65).

sniftar 'to inhale sharply through the nostrils, to sniffle, weep', &c. (Prevost, p. 302); apparently a frequentative formation on the stem **snif* appearing in NE. *sniff* vb. (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*); cf. Swed. *snyfta* to sob, Early Dan. *snifte*, Swed. dial. *snifsa* to sniff or sniffle, Dan. *snefta* 'to sniff, to sob' (Falk and Torp, p. 1102).

snurp=**snār**l (see above). This word evidently represents an ablaut form of ON. *snerpa* 'to strengthen', &c. (see Falk and Torp, p. 1094), as appearing in Norw. *snurpe* 'to bind or sew together loosely', Norw. dial. *snyrpa* of a similar meaning; cf. Swed. *snörpa* = *snurpe* (above).

stak a (hay)stack, ON. *stakkr*, Swed. *stack*, Dan. *stak* 'a stack of hay, a heap, pile'.

staj 'a pole'; ON. *stǫng*, Dan. *stang*, Swed. *stång* (=OE. *steng* 'pole, stake').

stajər wasp, hornet; from ME. *stangen* 'to prick', *stange* 'sting', O. W. Scand. *stanga* 'to sting, prick', Swed. *stånga*, Dan. *stange* (of cattle) 'to assault with the horns, to butt'.

stau(w)ər 'a stake, handle of a pole-net'; ON. *staurr*, Swed. *stör*, Norw. *staur* with the same sense.

stāp (up) 'to upset or overturn (as a cart)'; ON. *steypa*, Norw. dial. *steypa* 'to overturn, upset', Swed. *stöpa*, Dan. *støbe* to pour out, &c. (see Falk and Torp, p. 1198, and Wall, p. 122).

steg 'a gander'; ON. *steggr*, Norw. dial. *steg* 'a male bird' (Wall, p. 122).

stī 'a ladder'; ME. *ste*, *stegh* 'ladder'; cf. ON. *stigi*, Dan. *stige*, O. Swed. *stighi*, Swed. *stege*; cf. OE. *stige* 'going up and down' (Bosworth-Toller; Björkman, p. 255; and above, § 127).

stidi anvil; ME. *stipe*, *stepe*, ON. *steði*, O. Swed. *stæpi*, Swed. *städ* anvil (on the transition *ð* > *d* cf. § 326).

stilt 'to walk in a stiff manner', 'the arm and handle of a plough'; cf. Dan. *stylte*, Swed. *stylta* 'stilt', Dan. *stylte*, Swed. *stulta* 'to walk with a tottering gait', Norw. dial. *stultra*, *stiltra* 'to walk with stiff legs' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1193, and Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* sub *stilt*).

stint (or **stent**) 'to keep something from you, to limit, cut short, to send out cattle to graze in an allotment', &c. (Prevost,

p. 315); ME. *stüntēn*, *stintēn*, *stentēn* 'to stint, stop', ON. *styttā* (*tt < nt*) 'to cut short', Norw. dial. *styttā*, Swed. dial. *stynt upp* 'to shorten', &c. (cf. Björkman, p. 221; but see Ekwall, *Shak. Voc.*, p. 63).

störkn 'to coagulate, congeal, stiffen'; ON. *storkna*, Dan. *sterkne* 'to grow stiff, to coagulate', Norw. *storkna*, Swed. *storkna* 'to grow stiff with choking, to choke'. The regular Lorton form would be **stwörkn* (§ 136); **störkn** should therefore be explained in the same way as the words in § 136, note II.

stūp, **jat stūp** a gate-post, 'the turning-post in a race'; ME. *stulpe*; cf. ON. *stolpi*, Swed. *stolpe*, Dan. *stolpe* (if Scandinavian, the *u* in ME. *stulpe* is difficult to account for).

swan 'a wet hollow lying among pasture or arable land, a field-name'; cf. Icel. *svange* 'the hollow between the back and belly of a cow', ON. *svangr* 'thin, emaciated', Swed. dial. *svang svånger* 'thin, hungry, empty' (see Falk and Torp, p. 1210).

swärp 'the skin of hams and bacon, also used in speaking of aftermath'; ME. *swarthe* 'sward, skin', ON. *svgrðr* 'hairy skin, sward'. The usual Lorton word is *swad* (cf. Wall, p. 123, and Björkman, p. 166).

swæv 'to cause to swing round, to wave'; ME. *swaiuen*, W. Scand. *sveifa* 'to hover, glide', O. Swed. *swēva* 'to turn'; cf. also Lorton *swevl* 'to reel and stagger like a drunken man, to move in such a manner that the whole of the body is in motion', and O. W. Scand. *sveifla* 'to swing, to set in motion' (Björkman, p. 49).

[**swiðær** sb. 'a mixed state of perplexity and distress acute enough to affect the inwards'; vb. 'to shiver with cold, hesitate, turn the stomach'. **swiðær** always seems to imply physical disturbance or pain; cf. ME. *swīþen* 'to burn, light up' (Björkman, p. 166), O. W. Scand. *sviða* 'to burn, singe' and the frequentative *sviðra* (Wall, p. 123; Björkman, p. 221).]

taik 'a dog, an unruly fellow' a severe term of abuse; ME. *tike* 'dog, churl', ON. *tik*, Swed., Norw. *tik* 'a bitch'. Scandinavian origin uncertain (Björkman, p. 256).

tain 'to lose'; ME. *tinen* 'to lose', ON. *týna* 'to lose' (see Wall, p. 125, and Björkman, p. 116).

tait or **tit** 'soon, quickly, easily'; ME. *tīt*, *tīt* (Stratmann-Bradley, p. 607) 'quickly', ON. *titt* 'frequently, quickly' (neutral form of ON. *tiðr* adj. 'frequent, quick'; cf. Swed. *tidt* in the expression

tidt och ofta 'often, every now and then'; cf. also the comp. *titer* 'sooner, rather, first, foremost', and *titermæst* soonest.

tak vb. to take, pret. *tiúk* (*tiák*), pp. *tián*; from late OE. *tacan*, *tóc*, **tacen* < ON. *taka*, *tók*, *tekinn* (O. Swed. *taka*, Dan. *tage*, Swed. *taga*). Concerning the short vowel of the inf. see above, § 445. The pp. has arisen through contraction (cf. *miád*, § 454); we find contracted forms such as *y-tan*, *tan*, *tane*, *tain*, &c., as early as the fourteenth century (see N.E.D. sub *take*). On the numerous expressions with **tak**, see Prevost, pp. 329, 330.

tanz 'prongs of a fork', is perhaps the same word as ME. *tange* 'sting, dagger, pugio'; O. W. Scand. *tangi* 'the pointed end by which the blade is driven into the handle', Swed. dial. *tange*, *tänge*, 'point' (Björkman, p. 255); cf. the verb. *teŋ* 'to sting' (Prevost, p. 334, and Wall, p. 124).

tárn 'a small lake'; ME. *terne* 'tarn, lake', ON. *tiŕn*, gen. *tiarnar* from **ternu* tarn, Swed. *tjärn*, Swed. dial. *tärn*, Dan. *tjern*, Norw. *tjörn*.

taþ 'tufts of grass where cattle have dropped dung'; **taþi** 'gras' 'coarse grass'; cf. ME. *taþen* 'stercoro', ON. *tað* 'dung, manure', *taða* 'the manured home-field', Swed. and Norw. dialects. *tað* dung, ON. *teðja* 'to dung, manure' (cf. Björkman, p. 166; Wall, p. 124).

taum (see Prevost, p. 342) 'a hair fishing-line, a cord or string partly untwisted'; cf. ON. *taumr*, Norw. *taum*, Swed. *töm*, Dan. *tømme* 'rein, bridle' (=OE. *tēam* 'a line', &c.; see Bosworth-Toller, sub *tēam*).

til, **tul** prep. and conj. to till; ME. *tīl* 'to till', ON. *tīl* prep. 'to'. The word occurs also in OE., but the local distribution points to Scandinavian origin (see Björkman, p. 222).

tīt tight; ME. *thiht* 'firm', *tīht* 'dense', &c., ON. *þéttr*, Swed. *tät*, Dan. *tæt* (see further Björkman, p. 223).

tiüm (or **tīm**) 'to empty, pour out'; ME. *tōm* 'empty', *tēmen* 'to empty, pour out', ON. *tóm*, Swed. *tom* empty, ON. *téma* 'to make empty', Swed. *töm*, Dan. *tømme*. But cf. OE. *tom* 'free from'. The local distribution of the word favours Scandinavian origin.

tlagi 'sticky, adhesive'; **tlag** 'to adhere, stick to', &c.; **tlagər** 'anything difficult to shake off' (see further Prevost, p. 63); perhaps Scandinavian, cf. Dan. *klag*, *klagge* 'sticky, mud, clay', *klæg*, *klæg* adj. 'viscous, sticky'; cf. below, **tleg** (see further

Björkman, p. 215). On the transition *kl* > *tl* in this word and also in *tleg*, *tlekin*, *tlip*, see § 337).

tleg gadfly, horse-fly; O. W. Scand. *kleggi*, Swed. *klägg*, Dan. *klæg* 'a gadfly' (Björkman, p. 215).

tlekin 'a brood of chickens, the set of eggs from which the brood is produced'; ME. *cleken* vb. 'to hatch, bring forth' may be native or Scand.; cf. ON. *klekja*, O. Swed. *klækkia*, Swed. *kläcka* (see further Björkman, p. 146).

tlip vb. 'to cut with scissors, to shear sheep'; ME. *clippen*, O. W. Scand. *klippa*, Swed. *klippa*, Dan. *klippe*.

toft 'homestead', 'ground occupied by a dwelling-place'; ME. *toft* 'piece of ground', 'campus', OE. *toft* 'piece of ground', ON. *topt*, *toft* 'a place marked out for a homestead or building, a homestead, a piece of ground', Swed. *toft* (occurring in frequent place-names). The special sense of 'homestead' favours Scandinavian origin as far as our dialect is concerned.

trig 'full, trim, neat, well in health'; cf. ME. *trigg* 'faithful, secure', ON. *tryggr* 'trusty, faithful, true', Dan. *tryg*, Swed. *trygg* 'safe, secure'.

[*trug* 'a wooden box for carrying coals, peats', &c.; cf. ON. *trog* (with the diminutive form *trygill*; see Falk and Torp, p. 1289), Norw., Dan. *trug*, Swed. *tråg* a wooden trough or vessel. OE. *trog*, *troh* has become Lorton *trof* (§ 364). The present dialect form seems to point to a ME. ON. **trugg*.]

tšaft jaw; from ON. *kjaptr*, Swed. *käft*, Dan. *kjæft*, Norw. dial. *kjeft* (see further N.E.D. sub *chaft*). Another form of this word is *tšop* jaw (now obsolete in Lorton).

tup(-seg) 'a wether sheep'; ME. *tuppe* 'tup, ram'; cf. Swed., Norw. *tup* 'a cock', also *tupp*, used in many Swedish compounds to denote a male bird of any kind, such as *orr-tupp* 'a black cock', *tjäder-tupp* 'a cock capercailzie', *kalkon-tupp* 'a turkey-cock', &c.

pr(e)iv or *þriáv* (Prevost, p. 338) 'a bundle consisting of twenty-four sheaves of straw'; ME. *þrave* (> *þriáv*), *þreve* (> *þr(e)iv*); cf. O. W. Scand. *þrefi*, Swed. *trafve*, Dan. *trave* (Björkman, p. 223).

ðŭr pron. 'these'; *ðŭrənz* 'these ones'; ME. *þir*, *þer* 'these' is possibly from ON. *þeir*, *þær* those (but see N.E.D., and above, § 6).

pwæt 'a clearing in the wood, a piece of land cut off by a fence', now only occurring in place-names, of which there are a great number in Cumberland (cf. H. Lindkvist, *Scandinavian Place-Names*

in ME., pp. 98 ff.), ON. *þweit* lit. 'a cutting', 'a piece of land, a paddock' (related to OE. *þwītan* 'to cut'), Norw. dial. *tweit*, Swed. dial. *tvet*, Dan. *tvede*.

ugli ugly; ME. *ugli* 'horrid, frightful', *ug* 'fear', *uggen* 'to feel horror', ON. *uggr* 'fear', *uggligr* adj. 'frightful' (Björkman, p. 224).

uptak 'lifting, finding, the beginning'; cf. ON. *upptak* 'income, resource', *upptaka* 'a taking up, seizure' (Wall, p. 126).

wai (also *kwei* (?); see Prevost, p. 366) 'a heifer' (up to the age of three years); cf. ON. *kviga*, Swed. *kviga*, Norw. *kvige*, Dan. *kvie*. (Initial *k* has been dropped before *w*; see § 268 above.)

wandi (< *wand* sb. wand, rod) 'slim and flexible as a willow wand'; cf. ME. *wand*, *wond*, ON. *vöndr*, Dan. *vaand* wand, rod.

want 'to require, deserve, to do without'; *wanti* 'deficient, imperfect': *wanter* 'a marriageable person'; ME. *wan(n)t*, *wont* 'lacking, deficient', *want* 'deficiency', *wan(n)ten(n)* 'to want, to be lacking', ON. *vanr* 'lacking' (neutral *vant*), *vanta* 'to want, lack', &c. (see further Björkman, p. 225).

wāḁ week-day, working day'; cf. ON. *hverr dagr* 'every day which is not a holiday', and *verkdagr* 'a working day' (see Falk and Torp, p. 438), Dan. *hverdag*, Swed. *hvardag*.

wār worse (comp. of *bad*; cf. above, § 400 note); ME. *werre*, from ON. *verr*, *verri*, Dan. *værre*, Swed. *värre*.

wārp 'to lay eggs'; ON. *verpa* (*eggjum*) 'to lay eggs', Swed. *värpa*, Dan. *verpe* (=OE. *weorpen*), thus lit. 'to throw eggs'.

wap 'ford', now mostly occurring in place-names; ON. *vað*, O. Swed. *wap*, Swed. *vad* ford.

wæ, *wīə* 'woe, pity, sad, pitiful', &c.; Prevost gives both forms (p. 357) for the central, north, and south-west of Cumberland, but I have not heard the word in Lorton. *wæ* would be the regular development of ME. *wei*, *wai*, *wagg*, ON. *vei* (on the history of the ME. word see further Björkman, pp. 50-2); *wīə*, on the other hand, would regularly develop from OE. *wā*, ME. **wā* (see above, § 156).

wæc 'weak, poorly'; ME. *weik*, *waik* 'weak, debilis, imbecilis, lentus'; ON. *veikr*, Swed. *vek*.

wæl or *w(e)l* 'choice, selection, majority, to select, pick out, choose' (Prevost, p. 357); cf. ME. *wale* 'choice, option', *walen*,

welen 'to choose', ON. *val* 'choice', *velja* 'to choose' (see Björkman, p. 256).

(*gärn*) *winlz* 'a wooden cross from which the yarn is wound'; according to Ellwood (*Lakel. and Icel.*, p. 25) the same word as in Icel. *vindil-áss* 'windlass', also Icel. *vindill* 'a winding instrument'; cf. Icel., Swed. *garn-vinda*.

[*wost* 'curds' (for cheese); cf. ON. *ostr* cheese, Swed., Dan. *ost* cheese. The present dialect form points to a ME. *ȝst* (§ 138, above).]

SPECIMENS OF THE LORTON DIALECT

THE phonetic transcriptions given in the following pages include four of the most widely known and popular pieces written in the West Cumbrian dialect. The first one is taken from the well-known and often quoted *Betty Wilson's Cumberland Teals*; the three remaining ones from A. C. GIBSON'S excellent collection of Cumberland tales and songs, entitled *The Folk-Speech of Cumberland and some districts adjacent; being Short Stories and Rhymes in the Dialects of the West Border Counties* (see further List of Works consulted, p. ix).

I should like to enter more fully into the extremely rich and interesting Cumbrian dialect literature, but the limitations of the present work unfortunately do not permit me to do so. I therefore content myself with mentioning some of the best known and popular names of the Cumbrian dialect authors.

The Rev. JOSIAH RELPH, whose works date from the first half of the eighteenth century, has written some charming pastorals, poems, epigrams, and translations in the Cumberland dialect; his works are the earliest recorded productions in the dialect, and most of them are of high literary value.

SUSANNAH BLAMIRE, 'the Muse of Cumberland' (died 1794), together with her friend and literary coadjutor CATHERINE GILPIN (died 1811), wrote some excellent poetical sketches of Cumberland life (collected by Henry Lonsdale and first edited by C. Thurnam, Carlisle, 1842).

EWAN CLARK, whose literary productions date from the last half of the eighteenth century, is the author of some poetical dialogues, pastorals, and songs in the dialect (printed by J. Ware & Son, Whitehaven, 1779).

ISAAC RITSON, of Eamont Bridge, Cumberland, whose *Copy of a letter wrote by a young shepherd of Borrowdale at his return from Dublin to one of his acquaintance* is perhaps the best known and most popular of all the literary productions in the Cumberland dialect. The *Borrowdale Letter* was published for the first time at

Penrith, 1787, in *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, &c.*, by James Clarke ; see further W. W. Skeat and J. H. Nodal, *A Bibliographical List, &c.* (English Dialect Society, 1873-7).

Another famous Cumbrian dialect writer is JOHN STAGG, 'the blind bard of Cumberland,' of whose poetical productions the picturesque and humorous *Bridewain* and *The Return* are the best known (first printed by J. Scott, Carlisle, in 1804).

JOHN RAYSON, of Aglionby, is the author of some excellent dialect songs (*Miscellaneous Poems and Ballads in the Cumberland Dialect*, first printed by G. Irwin, Carlisle, 1830).

Among the best writers of the dialect in later times should be noticed : BETTY WILSON, whose humorous *Cummerland Teils* first appeared in the *West Cumberland Times* (collected by Thomas Farrall, of Aspatria, and published by James C. Mason, Carlisle, 1901) ; ALEX. CRAIG GIBSON, *The Folk-speech of Cumberland and some districts adjacent* (Geo. Coward, Carlisle, 1869) ; the popular and well-known tales *Joe and the Geologist* and *Poor Bobby Banks' Bodderment*, by an anonymous author ; JOHN RICHARDSON, *Cumberland Talk* (G. Coward, Carlisle, 1871).

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the various dialect contributions that have appeared in the local press, but it is to be hoped that one of the numerous friends and admirers of Cumberland and its dialect will take upon himself the task of collecting and publishing all the literary dialect productions that have hitherto appeared. The above-mentioned dialect works are to a great extent of no mean literary and artistic value ; they form excellent and interesting illustrations of Cumberland life, manners, and customs, but are—from a purely linguistic point of view—of small value, owing to the imperfectness of spelling and the constant mixing up of true dialect forms with those of the literary language and standard English.

The following dialect specimens have been dictated to me in the Lorton dialect by my chief helper, Mr. George Oglethorpe, and have since been re-read and revised by other natives of the district.

I

t'ikwōzi ¹

a maind əz wɪl əz ɪft əd nobət bɪn las nɪt—ən ɪts vənər twenti tər sen nju—lāl Mæri Džaksən sent ʃə(r) sārventlad Tomi Wilsən, ə tʃap ət wəz ɔləs kənsɪdət rædər lɪt, bət nɪə kənəkʃən ə main maind, tə tel mə ɛtə wəz wantɪt au(w)ər twæ eftər nain ətlok.

‘wō wants mə?’ sezā. ‘(u)uwər Mæri,’ sezɪ. ‘varə wɪl, Tomi,’ a sed, ‘al bi ʃɪər dʒʊs nju.’ ən əwæ Tomi went, santrən of laik əz ɪf ɪd dʒʊs mendɪt ʒʊt əv ə laŋ ɪlnəs ən əz ɪf ɪz tlogz əd bɪn ʃod wɪd kudikəkəs ².

a mæn dʒʊs tel ʒə ət lāl Mæri wəz ən ɔnli daʊtər, ən ʏr faðər ən muðər əd ə fərm ɪn Eməltən bodm, ʃər land dʒɔɪnən ʒu(w)əs, ən twəz komn tək ət Mæri wad ev ə bit ə keltər ³, ən əz ʃi wəz gæ kani tə liŋk at fəbai ⁴, ʃi ɔləs ed plenti ə tʃaps. ʃɪər wəz big Džak Odžin ɔləs ɪŋən əbʒʊt; ən lāl Bili Karik kom meni ə wɪkənd pre Bwəl; ən Džimi Bel pre Kezik wəz sɪə ofn liŋkən eftər ər ət Kok-məp mārket ət fwöks ʒaut ʃe wad särtəntli mak ə mats ont eftər ə bit. (u)uwɪvər ʃats nʊt gɪtən on wi mi tɪəl.

əs siŋ ən əd gɪtən tpɪgz sarət ⁵ əntmen ʃər supəs ən dʒiʒ wɛst ʊp, a pot ən ə tleɪn kap, mi wait brat ⁶, ən ə pær ə strəŋ leðər slɪpəs ət tʃʊmakər miəd mə, ən takən tlāl lantrən ə mi and a set of fər Džaksənʒ ʒʊs. wen a gat ʃɪər tɔld fwöks edənt gɪtən tə bed, ən lāl Mæri ʃakt ər n(ə)ɪf ⁷ at mə, əz mutʃ əstə sæ: ‘divənt let on a sent fo(r) ʒə!’

eftər ɔf ən ʒu(w)əs krak tɔld fwök ʃuntɪt of ⁸ ən left Mæri ən mɪ dʒʊs tə ʒu(w)əsɛlz. Mæri siŋ bigan ən teltmə ət ʃɪd s(ə)ɪn Džimi Bel ə Miklməs fædʒæ, ən ɪ sed ɪ wad send ər ə prezent nɪkst Sundə, ʒan ət wəd bi nais, ʒʊsfl, ən faʃnəbl. ‘ən sɪə’, ʃi sez, ‘ɪt kom last nɪt. ɪts ə fain bag kaɪnd əv ə ʒɪŋ; ə rɪəl nais kulər ʒʊtsaɪd, laɪnt wi sɪlk ən pədɪt wi kotn baɪkɪn ⁹, laik faðəs kwɔt nek. wel, a kʊdənt mak ʒʊt wat ɪt wəz for. nais siuərlaɪ ɪt ɪz; ʒʊsfl nɪə dʒʊt;

¹ Tea-cosy.

² Donkey's shoes (see N.E.D. sub *cuddy*, and *calkin* sb., *call* vb. II).

³ Money (of obscure etymology; cf. N.E.D. sub *keller* 3).

⁴ Besides.

⁵ Served (cf. § 214, note I).

⁶ Apron (of Celtic origin; cf. O. Irish *brat* ‘cloth, plaid, cloak’, Gaelic *brat* ‘apron, covering, mantle, veil’).

⁷ Fist (of Scand. orig.; cf. Appendix).

⁸ Went off, cleared off (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* sub. *shunt* vb.).

⁹ Cotton-wool (see N.E.D. sub *backing* sb., sense 11).

ən fašnəbl al lig mə laif ont, fər a nivər sō aut ət¹kaind əf(y)u(w)ər. nuu wan ad gitən faðər ən muðər of tʏl tmärkət, a tukt intʏl tfruntʏus¹ ən pot ə pær ə dliŷvz, ə nekləp², ə tleɪn brat, ən udər od þɪnz intʏlt, əz if a wəz gān tʏl ts(e)ɪsaid, bit it əd naut tə fasnt wid nər naut tə karit bi—sɪə a sez, ðis wilənt fit. wɪl, a tuk tɪɪnz ʏut əgián ən kom intəl tkitsɪn ən tleɪnt up tfaiərsaid, sēən tə misel ɔ t'aim : nais, juʃl, ən fašnəbl. ɔ ət jans a džəmp³ up ən sez : a heft ət last, its ə wʏrkbag ! siŷn biáp bobinz ən nɪdlz ən þrɪd ən tiáp ən butnz ən a nō nʏt wat wʏr int ; bit a fand ðis waznt wat it waz for, fər ə greɪt bob on⁴t'op of⁴ bodm, wedərɪvər twaz, wadənt let it stand—it džʏst toitəlt au(w)ər ən let ɔ⁵tɪɪnz ʏut ontəl⁵tʃɪu(w)ər. a puzəlt mi bræn ɔ tʃuəɪɲ, ən džʏst əz ad gitən mi dinər anudər þaut ət struk mə : its ə niŷu at fər twinter—ə forin snō at, al bi bund !

'upstæž a fliŷu, fetəlt⁵ up mi ær ən ed it on in ə krak. šaf⁶, it wadənt fit mə nɪə wæ ! twəz fār au(w)ər laŷ ən went dʏun au(w)ər mi ɪn təl a kudənt sɪ ə bit. a tʏrnt it tʏdər wæ, bit it wazənt ə bit betər, ən sɪə a džʏst þriŷut dʏun ont bed ən sed a wad bodeɪ nɪə mæɪ tʏl jə kom ən sət.' ðan əwæ ši went foɪ⁷, ən siuər əniŷf it waz nais, juʃl, ən fašnəbl. wen a sət, a laft rɪt ʏut, 'wai, wumn,' sezā, 'ðis iz ə tɪkwōzi !' 'tɪkwōzi,' sez Mæri, 'wats ðat ?' 'wai,' sezā, 'nekst taim wen Džimi Bel kuz, makəm ə kup⁸ə⁸tɪ, put ðis au(w)ər t'ɪpot ən itəl kɪpt əz wärm əz twost, ən Džimɪl sɪ ət ðʏu kenst ʏu tə jʏust.'

fʏrst tɪpəti Džim ən Mæri ed eftər ðə wər wedit əbʏut ə dʏzn on ʏz wəz invaitit tʏlt, ən a miədəm ɔ laf təl ðə vanār krakt ðər saidz bi telən tstwōri əbʏut Mæriz tɪkwōzi ; ən Mæri, blušen ɔ tʃiās auwər, džoint in tɪaf.

II

ə snekposət⁸

nivər əgián, Edi, nivər əgián !
if a munt ev ə lad ətəl kwoɪ mə əlián,
ətəl od bi jā switət ən mi bi ðat jan,
a mun baid əz a iz təl a di.

¹ Parlour (lit. front-house).

² Neck-cloth (cf. § 252).

³ Pret. of džəmp to jump.

⁴ Contraction of *or + the* (def. article).

⁵ Fixed (up), arranged (see N.E.D. sub *fettle* sb. and vb).

⁶ An interjection expressing annoyance, = bother it !

⁷ *for + it.*

⁸ A rebuff, a disappointment, commonly applied to suitors who are not

Ōyuz kodəlt Kiát Krostet, An Atšin, Džæn Blær,
 Bekə Rūd, Māri Mōsn, Reúp Laitl, ən mār,
 Ōyu sez its ɔ fun ən sek fun mæ bi fæR
 bit it dizənt sm dʒanik¹ tə mɪ.

a fævətʰə, ai, əbiɹn ɔ tladz əbɹt,
 a ɹaut laik ə fiɹl ətɹd siŋəlt mə ɹut
 fre tɹdʌʃ, ən av bin rɪt sarət nɹə dɹut
 tə trɪst sek ə tæstrəl² əz ʔɪ.
 rɪt sarət bai dʒɪŋ! a wəz wārnt gæli wɪl,
 a wəz telt ɹu ʔud fiɹlt ən ʔan left Griási Pɪl,
 ən wat rɪt əd ā tə bəlɪv ʔɹ wad dərɪ
 ædər fæRər ər fontər³ wi mɪ?

fwɔk telt mə ʔɹ kom əv ə slæp⁴ snɪki brɪd,
 ət ə tɹŋ sek əz ʔain seldm ɹɹ əv ə (e)ɪd,
 ət twais ə ɹɪ taimz wan ʔɹ sed aut ʔɹ lɪd,
 bit a fansit ʔat ədli kud bɪ;
 fə(r) Spiātri a kent wəz ə ədʒpɔkn pliás,
 ən a ɹaut meap⁵ ʔɹd bin rəŋt əbɹt Griás—
 God elp mə! a ɹaut a red triúp ə ʔi fiás
 wən ʔɹ swɔr ʔɹ kæf ɔnli fər mɪ.

wiər sili uz lasiz—wiər mæzlinz⁶ ənɔ,
 wiər tmiást tián wi ʔem ət ɹu(w)ər frenz miást miskɔ,
 ən wan wiər tián in, wiftə⁷ ʃiər wət wi sɔ,
 ən tə riɹu sek mistaks təl wi dɪ.
 bit lit kom ətaim, ən it kom ɔ ət jans;
 a sɔt fæR əniúp, bət tə giðə jā tʃans
 a went bi misel tə Džæn Lonkistəʃ dans,
 dʒʌst tə si if ʔɹ dʌd kær fər mɪ.

admitted (< *sneek* door-latch, of obscure origin + *posset* a Cumberland dish; see further Prevost, p. 302).

¹ Fair, honest, straightforward (of obscure etymology; see N.E.D. sub *jannock*).

² Good-for-nothing; possibly an altered form of *taster* (see N.E.D. sub *taster* sense 2) with secondary sense of 'contemptible fellow, good-for-nothing'.

³ More tenderly; comp. of *fond* in the sense of 'affectionate, tender' (see N.E.D. sub *fond*).

⁴ Slippery (Scand.; cf. Appendix).

⁵ *may* + *happen*, perhaps.

⁶ Idiotic, stupid persons.

⁷ We have to.

ðær of yut ə sɪt ə baɪkɔrnər a tiúk,
 ən ðu didənt ku nār ; nūt ə smail nər ə liúk
 dʌd tə kest tə pɛər¹ mɪ, əz a dærkt ə mi niúk
 ən wundəʃ ad trʊstɪt tə ðɪ.

ðu stak tʊl Bes Bruf laik ə kəkəltɪbʊr²
 ən ʃi kutəʃ wiðə dʒʊstə greg³ Ari Skʊr ;—
 wən tkuʃɪn kom ɪn, ðu tiukt tkuʃɪn təl ʊr,
 ə ðu dlaimt⁴ wən du kɪst ər ət mɪ.

bət Ari ən Bes miád it up ɪn ə krak ;
 ən nyu ət ðʊz ed ə bigɔŋk⁵ ðu kuz bak ;
 bʊt ɪf ðʊz fund yut ðaɪn əv fund yut mai mistak,
 ən al ɒd misel ʌtʃəl⁶ ən frɪ.
 sɪə Nedi, gid lad, drō ði stiák⁷ ən bi gān ;
 əmaŋ ði ɒld tʃansɪz ðʊl mapm fɪnd jan
 me br fæn ðō ðʊz snæpt⁸ ər, tə ev ðə əgián—
 bʊt, Nedi, ðat jan ɪzənt mɪ !

III

tpariš-tlārks gumšin⁹

ən ɒld preɪst ə Waibʊrn¹⁰ telz ə stwōri əbʊt fɪndən tpariʃtlærk
 jə Sunde mwōrnɪn sɪtən waɪətli əstriɪl ə tkʊrkrɪɡɪn. i wantɪt tə
 nō wət ɪz biznəs wəz ðær, ən Dʒō sed : ‘ wai, Dʒemi Ōkrɪɡ brak jan
 əv ɪz kār-riáps¹¹ tʊdɔdʒə ə tæfɪld, ən ðə gat tbelɪap ən fə(r)ɡat tə
 brɪŋt bak əgián, sɪə əv bɪn fwōʃt tə git up ɒn trɪɡɪn¹² ən rɪŋ wi mi
 andz ; ən a paut it wəz nɪə jʊs kumən dʊn əgián ətwin taimz,
 ən əs stɒpən tə ɡɪ tʃʊd rʊnd, ən ðan əl bi wɪd jə.’

¹ Poor (cf. § 234).

² A bur, ‘ the rough seed-ball of the burdock ’ (see N.E.D. sub *bur* sb.).

³ To annoy, vex, irritate (of obscure etymology).

⁴ To look askance (of obscure origin ; see N.E.D. sub *glime* vb.).

⁵ A snub, disappointment (origin unknown).

⁶ Heart-whole.

⁷ Draw thy stake, get off (originally used of an animal tethered by a stake or pole).

⁸ Snubbed, scolded (Scand. ; cf. Appendix).

⁹ Common sense, shrewdness, discernment (see N.E.D. sub *gumption*).

¹⁰ Wythburn.

¹¹ Cart-ropes.

¹² The ridge (of a house).

IV

Džwoni, git ȳut!

git ȳut wi Ǿə, Džwoni, Ǿuuz nobət ə faʃ¹,
 Ǿȳl kum til Ǿȳ ræziz ə desp(ə)rət tlaʃ²,
 Ǿȳz iər ivəri dæ dʒüst tə put jan əbȳut,
 ən Ǿȳ moidəʃ³ jan tarəbli—Džwoni, git ȳut!

wat sestə? az boni? wai Ǿats naut əts niȳu.
 Ǿȳz wantən ə switāt? Ǿȳz ed ə gæ feȳu
 ən Ǿȳz tʃɛɪtɪt əm jan eftər tʉdər nɪə dȳut;
 bȳt az nʉt tə bi tʃɛɪtɪt—sɪə, Džwoni, git ȳut!

Ǿɪəʃ plenti ə ladz ə biāp Lamplə ən Dɪn
 əz jabl əz Ǿɪ ən əz fit tə bi s(e)ɪn;
 ən a med tak mi pik əmaɪ ɔ Ǿɪər əbȳut,
 distə pink ələ Ǿɪ Ǿan?—Džwoni, git ȳut!

wat? nʉt jan əmaɪ Ǿəm əz laɪks mə sə wɪl?
 wai min! Ǿɪəʃ Dɪk Wɔkər ən Dʒonəpən Pɪl
 fuərsetən⁴ mə ɔləs ə tlonɪnz əbȳut,
 biāp wantən tə switāt mə—Džwoni, git ȳut!

wat? Ǿȳu wɪl ev ə kis?—ā bət, takt ɪf Ǿȳ dār!
 a tel Ǿə al skwɪl ɪf Ǿȳ traɪz tə ku nār;
 tak kær ə mi kolər, Ǿȳu mæflɪn⁵, al ʃȳut!
 næ Ǿȳ ʃant ev ənʉdər—nȳu, Džwoni, git ȳut!

git ȳut wɪǾə, Džwoni, Ǿȳz tɛ(ȳ)ut⁶ mə rɪt sār;
 Ǿȳz brɔkn mi kwɔm ən Ǿȳz tȳuzəlt mi ār.
 a wɪlənt bi kɪst, Ǿȳu unmanə(r)li lȳut⁷!
 waz Ǿər ɪvər sek ɪmpɪdɛns?—Džwoni, git ȳut!

¹ Bother, annoyance (from O. Fr. *fascher*, Mod. Fr. *fâcher* to trouble, annoy).

² Gossip, slander.

³ To confuse, bother, fatigue (origin obscure).

⁴ Getting in front of, intercepting.

⁵ Silly person (see N.E.D. sub *maffle* vb.).

⁶ Tired, pulled about (cf. § 197).

⁷ An awkward, ill-mannered fellow (see N.E.D. sub *lout* sb., sense 2).

git ʏt wičə, Dzwoni, a tel čə bi diŋn!
 distə pink al tak up wid An Diksəns ɔld šiŋn?
 čʏ me gā tʏl An Diksən ən pʏu ŋr əbʏt,
 čʏ salənt pʏu mī—sɪə, Džwoni, git ʏt!

wel, čats sent im of, ən ās swori it ez:
 i med ken ə las nivər meɪnz ɔf ši sez.
 iz ə rɪt kani felə, ʏu(w)ivər ə flʏt—
 its gitən əd wārk tə sǣ: Džwoni, git ʏt!

GLOSSARY

The alphabetical order in the Glossary is :

a, æ, b, d, d̥, e, ə, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p, r, s, š, t, t̥, þ,
 ʒ, u (ù, ȳ), v, w, z, ž.

The numbers refer to the sections in the Grammar.

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